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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE MOST CELEBRATED

VOYAGES,  
TRAVELS, AND DISCOVERIES,  
FROM THE  
*TIME OF COLUMBUS*

TO THE  
PRESENT PERIOD.

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*"Non apis inde tulit collectas sedula flores."* Ovidi

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By WILLIAM MAVOR, LL.D.

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VOL. IX.

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L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR E. NEWBERRY,  
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

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1797.

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BY WILLIAM MAYOR, F.R.S.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

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1827.



## CONTENTS OF VOL. IX.

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|                                                                                                                                         |        |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| <i>VOYAGE of Captain Henry Wilson, principally relating to his Shipwreck on the Pelew Islands, and subsequent Proceedings,</i>          | Page 1 |
| <i>Voyage of Governor Philip, to Botany Bay; with a Narrative of the Settlement of the Colonies at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island,</i> | 85     |
| <i>Voyage and Discoveries of Lieutenant Shortland, between Port Jackson and Batavia,</i>                                                | 131    |
| <i>Voyage of Captain Marshall, from Port Jackson to China</i>                                                                           | 143    |
| <i>Voyage of Lieutenant Watts, to Otaheite and China,</i>                                                                               | 149    |
| <i>Voyage of Captain Bligh, to the South Sea, for the purpose of conveying the Bread fruit Tree to the West Indies,</i>                 | 158    |
| <i>Historical Narrative of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China,</i>                                                                       | 229    |







# *CAPT. HENRY WILSON,*

PRINCIPALLY RELATING TO HIS SHIPWRECK

ON THE

PELEW ISLANDS,

AND SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS.

---

**F**EW narratives have attracted a more considerable share of the public attention, than this. Other voyages are more fertile in important discoveries, and embrace a wider range of action; but this is marked by features that interest the heart of sensibility, and give it a claim to the regard of the philosopher, the patriot, and the Christian. A people have been brought to light by accident, whose amiable manners, and virtuous qualities, evince no small progress in social refinement, and whose humanity, to our countrymen in distress, must ever endear them to Britons.

It is but justice to say, that the work from which the following pages are abstracted, is composed by the ingenious Mr. Keate, from the most authentic documents furnished by Captain Wilson, and verified by the coincident testimony of



the principal persons concerned in the transactions recorded. The original account of the Pelew Islands will not be superseded by this epitome; yet the narrative was too captivating, and too valuable, not to be included in our collection, and to be given at as great length as the nature of our plan would permit. Though the subsequent volume will be more particularly appropriated to Shipwrecks, we were unwilling to throw this into the general mass of nautical disasters; and, indeed, in many respects, it differs from their common tenor. For whatever Captain Wilson and his crew might suffer, at the moment of imminent danger, we are convinced that, in the event, they scarcely considered that as a misfortune, which was instrumental in bringing them acquainted with the natives of Pelew.

It is somewhat remarkable, that although these islands lie at no very great distance from the common track to China, yet it does not appear that any Europeans ever landed on them. They were not, however, totally unknown. In the "*Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*," we find an account of this Archipelago, of which the Palos, or Pelew Islands constitute the fifth division; the other four consisting of the islands which are now known by the name of the New Carolines. Le Pere Cantova tells us, that a boat with twenty-four natives of the Caroline Islands, being driven by stress of weather, on the coast of Guahan, he had used every method to get information from them concerning the rest; and that he was informed, "that the people of the Pelew Islands were inhuman and savage; that both men and women were entirely naked, and fed upon human flesh; that the inhabitants of the Carolines looked

on



on them with horror, as the enemies of mankind, and with whom they held it dangerous to have any intercourse." From this and every other information that can be procured, it appears, that, for a long series of years, the inhabitants of the Pelew Islands have been separated from the rest of mankind, even those most contiguous to themselves. Their ignorance of the existence of white people, abundantly evinces their being total strangers to Europe, at any rate.

The name given by the Spaniards to these islands, is the Palos Islands; which indeed is the name by which all the Caroline Islands formerly went; probably owing to the number of tall palm trees with which they are covered, having the appearance of masts of ships at a distance. The Spanish word *palos* signifies a mast.

But to proceed, Captain Wilson, of the Antelope Packet, in the service of the British East India Company, about three hundred tons burthen, sailed from Macao in China, where she had arrived a few weeks before, on her passage homeward, on Sunday the 20th of July, 1783.

As, in the sequel of this narrative, there will be occasion to mention the names of the ship's company, the following list of them may be useful to explain their situations.

| Names,                | Stations.    |
|-----------------------|--------------|
| Henry Wilson,         | Commander.   |
| Philip Benger,        | Chief Mate.  |
| Peter Barker,         | Second Mate. |
| John Cummin,          | Third Mate   |
| John Sharp,           | Surgeon.     |
| Arthur William Devis, | Passenger.   |
| John Blanch,          | Gunner.      |



| Names.                | Stations.                          |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| Willam Harvey         | Boatswain.                         |
| John Polkinghoron,    | Carpenter.                         |
| John Meale,           | Cooper and Steward.                |
| Richard Jenkins,      | Carpenter's Mate.                  |
| James Swift,          | Cook,                              |
| Richard Sharp,        | Midshipman.                        |
| Henry Wilson, junior. | Midshipman, son to<br>the Captain. |
| John Wedgeborough,    | Midshipman.                        |
| Robert White,         | Midshipman.                        |
| Albert Pierfon,       | Quarter Master.                    |
| Godfrey Minx,         | Quarter Master.                    |
| Thomas Dutton,        | Captain's Steward.                 |

Thomas Rose, native of Bengal, Linguist.

And, Matthias Wilson, the Captain's brother;  
Thomas Willson, Dedrick Windler, Zachariah  
Allen, John Cooper, James Bluitt, Thomas Cas-  
tles, William Roberts, Nicholas Tyacke, William  
Stewart, Madan Blanchard, Thomas Whitfield,  
William Cobbledick, and James Duncan, Seamen.  
Besides these, Captain Wilson was allowed sixteen  
Chinese, to keep the ship's complement of hands  
complete.

On Monday the 21st, they got clear to sea,  
having discharged the pilot, and taken leave of  
several gentlemen, who accompanied them a few  
leagues. From the 23d of July, to the 8th of  
August, they had very stormy unsettled weather,  
during which their foretop-mast sprung, and all  
their live cattle died. On the 9th, the weather be-  
came more moderate; so that opening their ports  
they dried the ship, examined their stores and pro-  
visions, and proceeded cheerfully on their voyage,  
flattering themselves their distress and danger  
were



were now fairly past; little apprehending the misfortunes that were so quickly to overtake them.

Early on Sunday morning, the 10th of August, a strong breeze sprung up, attended with much rain, thunder, and lightning. Captain Wilson had gone to bed about twelve, and Mr. Bengier, the chief mate, commanded on deck. While the seamen were busied in reefing the sails, the man on watch exclaimed, breakers! which he had scarce pronounced, when the ship struck. It is not easy to express the consternation which ensued; all who were in bed below, were immediately on deck, enquiring the occasion of the noise and confusion. Too soon they learned their dismal situation. In less than an hour the ship bulged, and filled with water up to the lower deck hatchways. During this scene of horror and dismay, the seamen eagerly besought the captain to direct them, and his commands would be obeyed with alacrity.

Captain Wilson's first orders were, to secure the gunpowder and small arms, and to get on deck the bread, and such other provisions as were liable to be spoiled by the water, and cover them from the rain. As the ship took a heel in filling, there was some reason to fear she might overset: to prevent which they cut away the mizen-mast, the main and fore-top-masts, and lowered the fore and main yards, to ease her. The boats were then hoisted out, and filled with provisions; a compass, and some small arms, with ammunition, and two men, being put into each, with directions to keep them under the lee of the ship, and to be ready to receive their ship-mates, in case the vessel should part by the violence of the wind



and waves, as it then blew an exceeding strong gale.

Every thing being now done, that prudence could dictate in so trying and distressful a situation, the officers and people assembled on the quarter-deck, that part being highest out of the water, and best sheltered from the rain and sea by the quarter-boards; and waited for day-light, in hopes of seeing land; for as yet they had not been able to discern any. During this dreadful interval, the anxiety and horror of which is much easier to be imagined than described, Captain Wilson endeavoured to revive the drooping spirits of his crew, by reminding them, that shipwreck was a misfortune to which navigators were always liable; and that although theirs was rendered more difficult and distressing, by its happening in an unknown and unfrequented sea, yet he wished to remind them, that this consideration should only rouse them to greater activity, in endeavouring to extricate themselves: and, above all, he begged leave to impress on their minds this circumstance, that whenever misfortunes, such as theirs, had happened, they had generally been rendered much more dreadful than they would otherwise have been, by the despair of the crew, and by their disagreement among themselves. To prevent which, he most earnestly requested each of them, separately, not to taste any spirituous liquor, on any account whatever; and he had the satisfaction to find a ready consent given to this most important advice.

This displays, in a most remarkable manner, the presence of mind which was preserved, and the prudence that was exerted by Captain Wilson, in one of the most trying situations, to which human



human nature can be exposed. It shews also, in the most unequivocal manner, the temper and disposition of his officers, and the whole crew, and pronounces their eulogium in the most impressive terms.

As they were almost worn out by the excessive labour they had undergone, two glasses of wine and some biscuit were given to every man aboard; and they waited for day-break with the utmost anxiety, in hopes of discovering land. Meantime they endeavoured to support each others spirits as much as possible, and, by the captain's direction, put on as many clothes as possible to carry with them, in the event of getting safe from the wreck. And, let it not be forgotten, among many other remarkable instances that occurred in the course of this voyage, to the honour of this crew, that the utmost cordiality prevailed amongst them. None attempted, in the hour of confusion, to touch his neighbour's property, nor to make free with what had been interdicted them.

The dawn discovered to their view a small island, at the distance of about three or four leagues to the southward; and as the day-light increased, they saw more islands to the eastward.

They now began to feel apprehensions on account of the natives, to whose dispositions they were utter strangers. However, after manning the boats, and loading them in the best manner they were able, for the general good, they were dispatched to the small island, under the direction of Mr. Benger, the chief-mate, who was earnestly requested to establish, if possible, a friendly intercourse with the natives, if they found any; and carefully to avoid all disagreement with them, unless reduced to it by the most urgent necessity.

As



As soon as the boats were gone, those who were left in the ship began to get the booms overboard, and to make a raft for their security, if the ship should go to pieces, which was hourly expected. At the same time, they were under the most painful apprehensions for the safety of the boats, on which all depended, not only with regard to the natives, but with regard to the weather also, as it continued to blow very hard.

But in the afternoon, they were relieved from their fears on this head, by the return of the boats, with the welcome news of their having landed the stores in safety, and left five men to take care of them; and that there was no appearance of inhabitants being on the island where they landed: that they had found a secure harbour, well sheltered from the weather, and also some fresh water. This favourable account revived them, and they proceeded in completing their raft with fresh vigour, having been allowed another glass of wine with biscuit. A very distressing accident, however, happened this day; the mizen-mast being found near the ship's stern, and part of the rigging entangled with the mizen chains, Godfrey Minks was employed to clear it, and while he was thus employed, unluckily slipped overboard. The boats were immediately sent to his assistance, but without effect.

Having finished the raft, they loaded it, together with the jolly-boat and pinnace, with as many stores and provisions as they could bear, consistently with the safety of the people who were to be carried off; and, as the day was advancing, the captain summoned all the people aboard. Indeed, so busily were they employed in bringing as much as possible with them, that it cost some pains



pains to get them all collected. Their feelings, on quitting the Antelope, going they knew not whither, were of the most distressing nature. The stoutest of the hands were put on board the pinnace, which took the raft in tow and moved slowly on, till they had cleared the reef; while the jolly-boat, which was of little service to the raft, proceeded along to the shore, and joined their companions that had been left in the morning. They found a tent ready for their reception, and a spot of ground cleared for the stores.

The situation of those aboard the pinnace and the raft, till they cleared the reef, was terrible indeed. The great swelling of the sea was such, that they repeatedly lost sight of each other, and those on the raft were obliged to tie themselves to the planks with ropes, to prevent their being washed off; whilst the horror of the scene was increased by the screams of the Chinese, who were not accustomed to the perils of the deep.

When they had fairly cleared the reef, they got into deep smooth water, in the channel running between the reef and the islands; but, on approaching the land, they found a very strong current, which drove them considerably to leeward. They soon found that they could not resist its impetuosity, and therefore, having brought the raft to a grapnel, all the hands got aboard the pinnace, to relieve the rowers; mean while, the cargo of the jolly-boat being unladen, Captain Wilson was returning in her, to assist those aboard the pinnace. The night was by this time dark, and the captain overhearing them at a distance, hailed them. Those aboard the pinnace, overjoyed at the near prospect of relief, returned the halloo, in a manner so unusual, that Captain  
Wilson



Wilson immediately concluded they were natives. He was the readier to form this idea, as he had just learned from those on shore, that, from various circumstances, they had reason to conclude there had been natives on that spot very lately; he therefore retreated to the shore with the utmost precipitation. Happily, however, they were soon relieved by the arrival of the pinnace, when all the company shook hands together (need it be added) with great cordiality. They made a homely supper, and having lighted a match by the discharge of a pistol, they kindled a fire in the cove, by which they dried their clothes and warmed themselves. The night proved very uncomfortable, as the weather was exceedingly tempestuous; while the fear of the ship going to pieces, before they could save other necessaries from the wreck, not a little heightened their distress. Lest they should be surprised by the natives, they set a watch, and slept on the ground by turns.

Next forenoon, being the 11th, proved very stormy; they attempted to bring off the raft in vain, and were obliged to leave it; carrying with them, however, the sails and the remainder of the provisions.

In the afternoon, the weather was more moderate, and the boats were dispatched to the ship to bring off what they could; while those on shore were employed in brushing up the small arms.

The evening set in very squally, and as the boats did not return from the ship, till about ten o'clock, those on shore were not a little alarmed about their safety; nor were they much easier, when, on their return, they learned, that the vessel was in such a situation, as made it exceedingly probable she could not hold together till morning.

When



When we consider their situation with this prospect before them, it must be granted, that the vicissitudes of human life have seldom produced a coincidence of circumstances more peculiarly distressing. The only hope they had, of yet floating and repairing the vessel, so as to return to China, now to all appearance impracticable—ignorant where they were, or among whom—separated not only from wives, children, and home, but from all mankind, except, perhaps, a race of savages, as they naturally supposed—without any prospect of relief—and at the same time shivering under a storm still more tempestuous than the former night, these combined, bring to view a situation, which humanity cannot think of, without commiserating their lot.

In the morning it blew exceedingly strong, so that the boats could not go off to the wreck. The men, therefore, employed themselves in drying their provisions, and forming better tents, from the materials which they had brought from the ship the day before. About eight o'clock in the morning, the people being employed as above, and in clearing the ground from the wood which was behind the tents, Captain Wilson, with Tom Rose, being on the beach, collecting the fresh water which dropped from the rocks, saw two canoes, with men in them, coming round the point into the bay. This gave such alarm, that the people all ran to their arms: however, as there were but few of the natives, Captain Wilson desired them to keep out of sight until they should perceive what reception he met with, but to be prepared for the worst. They soon perceived that the natives had seen the captain and Tom Rose, for they conversed together, and kept their eyes  
steadfastly



steadfastly fixed on that part of the shore where the English were. The natives advanced very cautiously towards them, and when they came near enough to be heard, the captain directed Rose to speak to them in his own language, the Malay, which they at first did not seem to understand; but they stopped their canoes, and soon after one of them asked, in the Malay tongue, who the strangers were, and whether they were friends or enemies? Rose was directed to reply, that they were Englishmen, who had lost their ship on the reef, but had saved their lives, and were friends. On this they seemed to confer together for a short time, and then stepped out of the canoes into the water, and went toward the shore. Captain Wilson instantly waded into the water to meet them, and embracing them in the most friendly manner, led them to the shore, and presented them to his officers and unfortunate companions. The natives were eight in number, two of whom, it was afterwards known, were brothers to the rupack, or king, of the neighbouring islands, and one was a Malay, who had been shipwrecked in a vessel belonging to a Chinese, resident on the Island of Ternate, one of the same group of islands: he had been kindly treated by the king, who, he said, was a good man; and that his people also were courteous. He told them farther, that a canoe having been out a fishing, had seen the ship's mast; and that the king, being informed of it, sent off these two canoes at four o'clock that morning, to see what was become of the people who had belonged to her; and they knowing of the harbour which the Englishmen were in, had come directly thither.



Being about breakfast hour, Captain Wilson, Tom Rose, and only a few others breakfasted with them to prevent suspicion; and in the course of their short conversation, a wish was hinted to be informed, by what means the Malay they had brought with them, had reached their islands. The Malay, who could indistinctly speak a few sentences both in broken Dutch and English, gave some farther account of himself; but from his future conduct and behaviour, there was great reason to suspect his veracity. It was, however, fortunate that they found a person with whom their linguist could converse.

The natives were of a moderate size, but admirably proportioned and very muscular. Their hair was long and black, rolled up in a peculiarly neat manner close to their heads. Except the younger of the king's two sons, none of them had beards. They in general plucked out the hairs by the roots. They were quite naked, and their skins of a deep copper colour.

They were conducted round the cove, and, to the great surprise of the English, walked on broken rocks, shells, and thorny plants, with the greatest ease.

They were now enabled to support a mutual conversation, by means of the Malay man, on the part of the natives, and Tom Rose on that of the English, and thus had an opportunity of examining one another as to the different appearances, which occasioned mutual surprise.

From this first interview, as well as what happened afterwards, it was evident that the natives had never before seen a white man, and were ignorant of the existence of any such. The natural



surprise at seeing them may therefore be well conceived.

The appearance of clothes was quite new to them. At first, indeed they were at a loss to determine, whether the man and his dress were not of the same substance.

Nothing afforded them greater surprise than the sight of two dogs belonging to the ship, which immediately on their approach set up a loud bark, to the great delight of the natives, who answered them in a shout almost as violent. In these animals they took great delight, as, except a few grey rats, there are no quadrupeds on the island.

Captain Wilson was exceedingly anxious to keep them ignorant of the nature and use of fire-arms; but one of them accidentally picking up a small leaden bullet, surprised at its weight, examined the Malay about it, who requested one of the muskets to explain its use and effect. They seemed very desirous that one of the English should go with them in their canoes to their king, that he might see what sort of people they were. Every one agreed that this step would be advisable; but, as difficulties arose concerning who the person should be that should venture himself, the captain requested his brother, Mr. Matthias Wilson to undertake the office, who readily consented; and about noon one of the canoes left the harbour, having Mr. Wilson with them. The other canoe, with four persons, among whom was Raa Kook, the elder of the king's brothers, and who was also general of his armies, remained with the English of their own accord, until the canoe returned with Mr. Wilson.

The



The captain directed his brother to acquaint the king who they were; to relate to him, as well as he could, the nature of their misfortune; to solicit his friendship and protection, and permission to build a vessel to carry them back to their own country. He also sent a present by him to the king, of a small remnant of blue broad cloth, a canister of tea, another of sugar-candy, and a jar of rusk. The last article was added at the particular request of the king's two brothers.

During the absence of Matthias Wilson, they had an opportunity of getting more intimately acquainted with Raa Kook, whom they found a most amiable character indeed. Observing a piece of polished bone around his wrist, they took occasion to enquire into the meaning of it. He informed them, it was a mark of great distinction, conferred only on the blood royal, and principal officers of state; and that he enjoyed it as being the king's brother and commander in chief of the forces both by sea and land. Raa Kook's friendship was therefore cultivated with all imaginable assiduity, and he, in return, shewed himself attached to them by a most attentive politeness; he imitated them in all their actions, and on every occasion shewed them how high an opinion he had formed of them. The Malay on his first arrival had requested to be indulged with a jacket and trowsers, which were readily granted, and an uniform coat with trowsers were at the same time given to Raa Kook, who put them on, but was soon wearied of them, as he found them cumbersome. He examined into the most minute actions, and was at no little pains to learn from the cook the method of blowing up the fire with a bellows.



In the morning of the fourteenth, two canoes arrived, in which were Arra Kooker, the king's other brother, and one of the king's sons. They informed Captain Wilson that his brother was on his way back; but that the canoe in which he was, could not make so much speed against the wind as theirs, which occasioned the delay. The king, by their means, offered them a hearty welcome to his territories, and assured them of his friendship and protection; he also desired them to build a vessel in any part of the island they inclined, and that he and his subjects would willingly afford them every assistance in their power. Raa Kook then took his nephew and introduced him particularly to the captain and his officers, and conducted him round the cove, explained every thing agreeable to the information he himself had just received, and seemed mightily pleased with his friend's astonishment. This young man was very well made, but had a flit in his nose, probably the consequence of a wound in battle, or a scrophulous taint which was common among the natives.

In the forenoon two boats were dispatched to the wreck. They found a number of the natives, in about twenty canoes, busied in examining the vessel; these Raa Kook soon dispatched, and on this, as well as on every occasion, did every thing in his power to convince the English of his protection and friendship.

Meantime the people were highly entertained with Arra Kooker, who proved to be a most facetious entertaining man; possessing uncommon talents for mimicry and humour. He described, by many diverting signs, the terror of Matthias Wilson while at Pelew; who it seems had been under very great apprehension. But they were  
all



all revived with his appearance, and the account he gave them of his embassy, to the following effect :

“ On the approach of the canoe in which I went to the island where the king lives, a vast concourse of the natives ran out of their houses to see me come on shore. The king's brother took me by the hand, and led me up to the town, where a mat was spread for me, on a square pavement, and I was directed to sit down on it. In a little time the king appeared, and being pointed out to me by his brother, I rose and made my obeisance after the manner of eastern nations, by lifting my hands to my head, and bending my body forward; but he did not seem to pay any attention to it. I then offered him the presents which my brother had sent by me, and he received them in a very gracious manner. His brother now talked a great deal to him, the purport of which, as I conceived, was to acquaint him with our disaster, and the number of us; after which the king ate some of the sugar-candy, seemed to relish it, and distributed a little of it to several of his chiefs; and then directed all the things to be carried to his own house. This being done, he ordered refreshments to be brought for me.

“ A great crowd of the natives had by this time surrounded me, who were curious and eager to examine my clothes and person. But as it began to be dark, the king, his brother, myself, and several others, retired into a large house, where supper was brought in, consisting of yams boiled whole, and others boiled and beaten together, as we sometimes do potatoes. There were likewise some shell-fish; but I could not determine what they were.



“ I spent the next day in walking about the island, and observing its produce, which consisted chiefly of yams and cocoa-nuts; the former they cultivate with great care, in large plantations, which are all in swampy watery ground, such as the rice fields in India. The cocoa trees grow very near the houses, as do also the beetle-nuts, which they chew as tobacco.”

Matters proceeding in this favourable train, the captain, with great prudence, suggested the propriety of staving the liquor casks on board the wreck, lest either the natives or the mariners, by indulging to excess, might be thrown off their guard, and give occasion to misunderstandings. This advice was instantly complied with, and nothing can give us a higher idea of the regular conduct of the crew, and the affection they bore their commander, than their readiness in giving up their favourite indulgence, which they did without a murmur.

In a short time after this, the English were informed that the king was coming; and in less than an hour, they saw a great number of canoes turning the point which formed the harbour. But the king stopped as soon as he got within the bay, and directed one squadron of the canoes, which were all armed, to retire to the back of the island; thinking, probably, that so great a number of armed people would create an alarm among the strangers.

He then advanced with the rest in great form, and with much parade, as far as the tide, which was then low, would permit them; and it was signified to Captain Wilson, by the king's brothers, that he should then go and meet him.

Accordingly,



Accordingly, two of his own people took him on their shoulders, and carried him through the water to the king's canoe, which he was requested to enter; and he and the king, whose name was Abba Thulle, embraced one another.

The captain then related the nature of their misfortune to Abba Thulle, by means of the two Malays, and repeated his request to be permitted to build a vessel to carry them home; and the king again, in a very courteous manner, gave his permission for them to build it, either where they were, or at the island where he resided; but recommended the latter; adding, that the island on which they had landed was unhealthy, which was the reason it was not inhabited; and that he apprehended they would be ill, when another wind began to blow, which he said would be in two moons. The captain informed him, that they had a person with them, whose business it was to cure diseases; and that it would be very inconvenient to them, if they removed farther from the wreck of their vessel, because they could not then procure from her, such things as they might want, without much trouble and loss of time. To these reasons the king assented; and making signs that he wished to land, the captain was carried on shore by his people, and Abba Thulle, stepping into the water, followed him.

On his landing, he looked about him with a good deal of apparent suspicion, which, however, was soon removed. Raa Kook made up to him, and a sail being spread for him, agreeable to their practice, the chiefs of his company sat also down, forming a square; and his other attendants, to the amount of about three hundred, inclosed them in a circle, squatting down at the same time in such a position.



position, as that they could rise in a twinkling. Captain Wilson offered him some tea, which he did not seem to relish, and then made him a present of a piece of cloth, and some ribbons, which pleased him very much. He was quite naked, as well as his brothers, and without any bone on his wrist, or other ornament. He carried a hatchet of iron on his shoulder, which was so adapted to it, that it gave him no inconvenience.

Abba Thulle, the king, was introduced by Captain Wilson to the officers and all his men; and upon being told that Mr. Benger was second in command, he designed him the kickaray ruck, supposing Captain Wilson to be the king of some country; but when he was made to understand that he belonged to a mighty sovereign, and that he was only his captain, he readily got hold of the word captain, by which name he constantly saluted him afterwards, and Mr. Benger, he called kickaray captain, as second in command.

The king then enquired for Captain Wilson's badge of supremacy, which put him to a stand. Luckily Mr. Benger slipped his ring into his hand, which being produced, and the manner of wearing it shewn, pleased Abba Thulle not a little, as it carried some affinity to their own mark of dignity.

Raa Kook having, as before mentioned, examined every thing belonging to the English very minutely, took much pains in pointing them out to the king; they went through the tents, in which every thing surprised them; nor did the difference between the Chinese and English escape their notice. Raa Kook, at the same time, gave his brother to understand, that there were  
many



many different nations and classes of mankind on the earth ; who were frequently at war with one another, as he often was with his neighbouring islanders. Abba Thulle appeared to despise the Chinese exceedingly, because they had no muskets.

But nothing seemed to strike Abba Thulle with more astonishment than the firearms, with which Raa Kook endeavoured to make him acquainted. He expressed much anxiety to see them used, which Captain Wilson ordered immediately to be done. He desired Mr. Benger to cause the sailors to go through their exercise drawn up on the sea beach, being then low water, while he explained their motions to the king. The men went through various evolutions, with great readiness, marching backwards and forwards, and concluded with three vollies, in different positions.

The astonishment and surprise of the natives, on hearing the report of the muskets, is not easily conceived ; indeed, their hooting and hallooing produced a noise little inferior to it. Captain Wilson judged it expedient to be guilty of a little profusion of their powder, on this occasion, in order to impress the minds of the natives with a more enlarged idea of the power of the English ; a design which was fully answered by it. But still farther to shew them the effects of their firearms, Mr. Benger ordered one of the live doves, which they had, to be let loose, at which he fired, and immediately brought it down, with a leg and a wing broken. This surpassed every thing in their estimation ; indeed, they now seemed to be lost in wonder and amazement.



Raa Kook was, by this time, pretty well acquainted with such articles as the English had about them, which he took great pains in pointing out to the king his brother; that which seemed principally to draw their notice, was a grind-stone, which they turned round with great satisfaction, observing the effect it had upon pieces of iron; they also examined the tents, and the culinary utensils. But the dogs were the greatest fund of entertainment to them, with whose barking they were so much delighted, that they kept a continual uproar with them, and it was found necessary to confine them. The king examined the English as to their provisions, and was presented with a piece of ham and a live goose which had been saved.

Abba Thulle was vastly pleased with what he had seen, and proposed going away. This was notified to his attendants by a loud shriek from one of his officers, which gave not a little alarm to the English. It was instantaneously obeyed. They all rushed to their canoes with great alacrity, and the king, with the greater part of the natives, took leave of them.

Raa Kook remained with the English all night, as did the king's son, and a few of their attendants. Captain Wilson ordered two tents to be pitched, one for the principal people, and the other for the commonalty. He continued himself with Raa Kook and his party, after the guard was set for some hours. The natives in the distant tent, anxious to pay all attention to their visitors, prepared to sing a song, according to their country mode.

Their method of tuning their voices for this purpose, was attended with sounds so very dissonant



nant and harsh, that the English thought they were beginning their war-hoop, or giving a signal to the king, and those with him, to attack them. Impressed with this idea, every man seized his musket and ran to the tent where Captain Wilson was, supposing him to be in the most imminent danger. But they were soon agreeably undeceived, and attended to the song, which was conducted in the following manner. A chief gave out the line, which a company next him took up and completed the verse. The last line they repeated, and it was taken up by the next party, who also sung a verse. They continued their song some time, and made signs for our people to repay them in kind, which was done by a lad, named Cobbledick, to their great satisfaction. The manner of this lad's singing was afterwards mentioned to the king, who, upon hearing him, was so much pleased, that he never met with him afterwards, without desiring him to sing, which, of course, was complied with.

We come now to mention a circumstance which presents these natives of Pelew in a light that could not have been preconceived; a circumstance which discovers such nice feelings, as, on the one hand, displays human nature in a very pleasing attire, in this her native dress; while, on the other, it may put to the blush enlightened nations and individuals. The English had no other means for again revisiting their native homes, but by constructing a small schooner; and, for this purpose, had only a few instruments saved from the wreck. These they carefully concealed from the natives, who had shewn a particular attachment to iron, and instruments made of that metal. Accidentally a chief had  
observed



observed where they were, and requested a cut-lafs from Captain Wilfon. The captain was loth to part with it, but fearing worfe consequences in case he refused, thought it best to give it. As they went out of the tent, Raa Kook observed it with great displeasure, took it from him, and returned it to Captain Wilfon.

In a few hours the Malay coming ashore, told the captain he had given great offence by offering a cutlafs to an inferior officer, and neglecting the king and his brothers. In order to make up matters, Captain Wilfon thought it best to present each of the king's brothers with some cloth and ribbons, which were very coolly received—they seemed to be unhappy. In the afternoon the king came round from the back part of the island, where he had spent the night, and Captain Wilfon went out in the jolly-boat, with Tom Rose, to meet him. Now Abba Thulle, who had been so happy and pleased the day before, appeared with a gloomy reserve, and the poor Englishmen trembled in anticipating the dreadful effects of his displeasure, which they thought he was meditating. But the real cause of the uneasiness, which evidently depressed them all, was nothing more than a struggle in their own breasts, how they should ask a favour from strangers almost wholly in their own power, without having the appearance of a command. This marks a delicacy of mind, which ranks the natives of Pelew high in refinement.

It appeared, a neighbouring nation had injured them, and as they meant to attack them in battle in a few days, they very justly foresaw the advantages which would arise from the presence of a few of the English sailors with firearms. At length,



length, with much evident confusion, Abba Thulle hinted it to Captain Wilson, who immediately assured him, he might at any time command his men \*, who were entirely at his service. No sooner was this answer notified by the interpreter, than every countenance brightened up, and cordiality and happiness were restored. The king immediately dubbed the captain a brother rupack, entreated him to send some of his people to the part of the island where he lived, to carry him whatever provisions they needed, and concluded with assuring him, that the natives were entirely at his service, to assist in constructing their vessel, or any thing else in their power.

He immediately retired to the opposite side of the island, promising to return next morning for the men. Nor was the happy settlement of this affair less agreeable to the English than the natives. The fear of having incurred the displeasure of those, whose favour was so necessary, had distressed them not a little; and each strove to shew his zeal by wishing to be selected for the expedition proposed. At last, five young men were chosen and properly equipped. They were headed by Mr. Cummin, the third mate.

Meanwhile every preparation was made to build a schooner, in which they might return to China; and the alacrity every person shewed to lend his assistance in this important business, was an earnest of their future success. Many necessaries were recovered from the wreck, and trees were felled to supply the rest.

\* Nothing but the peculiarity of Captain Wilson's situation, could justify him in joining in hostilities against a people who had done him no wrong; but circumstances influence the best of us.



On the 25th, the five English warriors returned in safety, after acquitting themselves to the satisfaction of the king, and putting his enemies to flight by the effect and terror of their firearms. For this service, the Island of Oroolong, where they then resided, was given to the English by Abba Thulle.

On the 31st of August, Captain Wilson paid a visit to Pelew. Mr. Devis, Mr. Sharp, and Harry Wilson, accompanied the captain on this visit. The English went in their jolly-boat, attended by Raa Kook, and other natives, in a canoe.

About one o'clock they reached Pelew, fired six muskets, and fixed their colours in the ground, at the end of the causeway where they landed. Raa Kook conducted them to a house, where they waited the arrival of Abba Thulle. Meantime the natives thronged into the house to have a view of the English, bringing along with them various refreshments and sweet-meats. In a little it was notified that the king was at hand, when, notwithstanding the multitude then present, the greatest silence prevailed. On his arrival, Captain Wilson embraced him as at first meeting, and presented him with a few trinkets, which were very agreeably received.

Abba Thulle now proposed to conduct them to the town, which is about a quarter of a mile from the landing place, where they were. The English, in order to assume some little formality, carried their colours before them. They passed through a wood, and then came to a fine pavement or causeway. There are large broad stones laid in the middle for the ease of walking, and lesser ones on the sides. This led them to the town, where they were conducted to a large square pavement, surrounded by houses. In the  
centre



centre stood a larger house than the rest, which was allotted to the English for their accommodation. In it there was a number of women, of a superior rank, being wives to the rupacks, or principal officers of state, who received them very politely, and presented them with cocoa-nuts and sweet drink, of which all partook.

In a little the king, after a suitable apology to Captain Wilson, retired to bathe, and a message was sent from the queen, expressing a wish to be favoured with the company of the English at her house. Thither they all repaired, and were seated in a little square before the house. It appeared that this lady was the principal wife of Abba Thulle, and great attention was paid to her by all. The king resided almost constantly at her house. She appeared at the window, and, by means of Raa Kook, examined into the various peculiarities in the appearance of the English which struck her. She sent them a broiled pigeon, which is the greatest rarity the island produces, and is held in the highest estimation. It is unlawful for any but rupacks and their wives to taste them.

After satisfying her curiosity, they were conducted by the general to his house, where they met with a most gracious reception, and had an opportunity of observing the benevolent heart of this worthy man in domestic life. In his house they were treated with the greatest kindness, and with the most expressive tokens of real welcome; but what particularly warmed their hearts on this occasion, was the endearing behaviour of Raa Kook to his wife and children. These last he fondled on his knees, and caressed with all the genuine marks of parental affection. The night being now pretty far advanced, they retired to



their house, where their friend the general spared no pains to render their accommodation comfortable. He procured plenty of mats for them to sleep on, kindled fires to defend them from the mosquitoes and damps, and ordered some of his own men to sleep at the other end to protect them from any of the natives, who might be led to disturb them from motives of curiosity. Next morning they were attended, as usual, by Raa Kook, and after walking about for some time, were ordered to attend the king to breakfast in the queen's house, where they had been the day before.

They were received with a peculiar etiquette, which was never afterwards practised. The house was all in one apartment; at the one end of which hung a screen of mats, which, when drawn up, discovered the king and queen seated. They breakfasted on yams and fish very agreeably. After breakfast Mr. Sharp, the surgeon, accompanied by Mr. Devis, set out to visit a child of Arra Kook's, which was sick. His house was about three miles distant. This gave them an opportunity of examining the country, which they had not before done. This visit was very acceptable, and the rupack thought he could not sufficiently repay them. Mr. Sharp examined the child's body, which was almost covered with ulcers, but could not prescribe any thing, having no medicines. He approved of the mode of cure they had adopted, which was chiefly fomentation. Arra Kook then laded several servants with provisions, &c. in baskets, to be sent to the boats, and assured them, when they left the island, they should have his whole roost of tame pigeons. This, by the way, was the greatest compliment he could offer them, in his estimation; and sufficiently shews the uncommon gratitude with which



which his bosom was warmed.—Indeed, the readers will, on many occasions, have anticipated the remark, that the finer feelings and virtues which adorn humanity, shone in these natives in no common degree. They returned to Captain Wilson, at Pelew, the same evening.

The request which had been previously hinted by the king, was now formally made to Captain Wilson, by desire of a council of rupacks, that he would allow them ten men to accompany them to a second engagement at Artingall; which was most readily complied with. Captain Wilson mentioned, at the same time, that it would be obliging were the men detained as short time as possible, not to hinder the progress of their schooner. To this Abba Thulle most engagingly replied, “That it was not his wish to detain them longer than was absolutely necessary, but after doing him so much service, he behoved to keep them a day or two to rejoice with him.” The council had met in the forenoon on this business. Every rupack, or chief, was seated on a stone, that for the king being higher than the rest, and disputed from side to side as it happened, without any regular order of speakers. It appeared that every thing was decided by a majority, so that their government bears no small affinity to our own.

The remainder of the time the English spent at Pelew, was very agreeably employed. One day, when in company with a great number of the natives, Mr. Devis, who was an excellent draughtsman, took out his pencil, and was busily employed in taking the likeness of a woman who drew his attention. The lady observing him, and ignorant of his intention, retired in great confusion.



sion. A chief beside him, noticing the drawing, was greatly pleased, and shewed it to the king, who immediately ordered two women to come forward and stand in a proper position for Mr. Devis to take their likenesses. Mr. Devis soon finished his sketches and presented them to the king, who was highly entertained, and calling the women, shewed them their portraits, with which they were much pleased. Abba Thulle desired Mr. Devis to give him his pencil and paper, on which he scratched a few figures, very rudely, but sufficiently to shew his conception of what had been done. So that while he thus displayed his own inferiority to the artist, he, at the same time, gave evident proofs of the sense he had of it, and his wishes to possess these qualifications which so pleased him.

Captain Wilson and his companions were carried to see their method of building canoes, and observed some canoes which were just returned from a skirmish, in which they had proved victorious. They had captured a canoe, which was considered as great a trophy as a first rate man of war would be in Britain. On this occasion the English had an opportunity of observing their method of celebrating such exploits, or keeping a day of festivity. There was a great feast prepared for the warriors, previous to which they danced in the following manner: they ornamented themselves with plantain leaves, nicely paired into stripes, like our ribbons, which, being of a yellowish colour, had a good effect on their dark skins; then forming themselves into circles, one within another, an elderly person began a song, or long sentence, and on his coming to the end of it, all the dancers joined in concert, dancing along  
at



at the same time; then a new sentence was pronounced and danced to, which continued till every one had sung, and his verse had been danced to.

Their manner of dancing does not consist so much of capering and leaping, or other feats of agility, as a certain method of reclining their bodies, and yet preserving their balance. During the dance, sweet drink was handed about, and when it was finished an elegant supper was brought in.

Mr. Sharp carried Captain Wilson, one afternoon, to see his favourite Arra Kook, who received them with great joy, and entertained them very kindly. They went through many plantations on their way, and were much surprised to find the country so highly cultivated. They observed a tree, named by the natives ri'a'mall, which the English supposed to be a species of the bread-fruit. After enjoying plentifully this good man's bounty, they returned to Pelew, highly delighted with their agreeable excursion. In the course of such observations as they had an opportunity of making, they found the employment of the men generally to be making darts, hewing trees, and building canoes, while the women looked after the yams, wrought the mats and baskets, nursed their children, and dressed the victuals.

On Thursday the 4th of September they left Pelew, loaded with presents, and amidst the loud acclamations of a vast number of the natives. They arrived safe at the cove about nine in the evening, and found all their companions well, and proceeding in their work with the utmost alacrity. The captain immediately informed them of the request the natives had made for ten men,  
and



and every one was again anxious to be of the party. At length they were determined upon, and ordered to be in readiness on a call from the king.

Soon after his majesty paid them another visit at Oroolong, and after inspecting the progress they made in their vessel, which delighted him greatly, he returned with the desired reinforcement of ten Englishmen.

As the king had some days before sent information to Artingall of his proposed attack, which is customary here, and at the same time terms of peace, he now ordered a canoe, with four men in it, to proceed to the island, and enquire whether they were to submit or to fight.

The messengers soon returned, informing that they refused the terms offered them. Immediately Abba Thulle ordered the conch to be sounded, and waved his chinam stick in the air, the signal for forming the line of battle.

Meantime the enemy collected their canoes, but kept close by the shore, shewing an evident disinclination to come to battle.

Abba Thulle had dressed himself in the scarlet coat which Captain Wilson had given him, and kept one of the Englishmen in his canoe. The other nine were dispersed through the fleet in nine different canoes, armed with muskets, cutlasses, bayonets, and pistols.

Finding the enemy would not advance, and their present situation being very unfavourable for the attack, the king ordered a party of canoes to go round a neck of high land, and lie there concealed. He then ordered the remainder to exchange a few darts in their present position, and retreat with apparent precipitancy; by these means



means he expected to draw the enemy from their shores, and the concealed squadron could then get betwixt them and the land, and thus hem them in on all hands.

He dispatched his orders with great readiness, by means of some very swift sailing canoes, which cut the water with astonishing velocity. His stratagem took effect as he wished. The enemy rushed out to pursue the apparent fugitives, and the canoes coming round the high land, surrounded them on all sides. Those who fled now turned about, and, by means of the firearms, threw the enemy into terror and confusion. The noise of the muskets, their friends dropping they knew not how, and the triumphant shout which the natives of Pelew set up, totally discomfited them. They retreated with precipitation, rushed through the canoes that were betwixt them and the land, as there were but few of them, and by that means all escaped but six canoes, and nine natives who were captured. The victory was, however, considered as very complete. It is very seldom that any canoes are taken, and two or three prisoners are generally the greatest number. The dead bodies are carefully carried off the field of battle, lest they should fall into the hands of the conquerors to expose them. It grieves us to be obliged to say, that the prisoners are constantly dispatched. This is the only trait of inhumanity that disgraces a people otherwise mild and gentle.

A little before this engagement, Mr. Sharp was requested by Raa Kook, to go along with him to Pelew, to inspect his son's foot, which was very dangerously hurt by a spear, which having sunk deep into the flesh, was broke off in attempting



ing to pull it out ; and the barb of the spear, having got in among the small bones, they could not extract it. Meantime, his foot swelled amazingly, to the great distress of the young man. One of the natives, reputed among them as a man of skill, began to cut away the flesh. But, after mangling his foot in a terrible manner, he was obliged to desist, as the effusion of blood became so great that he could not continue the operation. They, therefore, had recourse to their fomentation, of which Mr. Sharp much approved, and desired it to be continued till he saw him, which he could not propose at that time, three of the ablest men being sick.

Mr. Sharp's account of his excursion to see him some time after is as follows:

Immediately on his landing, he went directly to his father's house, who met him with visible distress in his countenance.

Mr. Sharp acquainted him, that he was come to see his son, and had brought such instruments with him as would enable him, he hoped, to administer relief. He smiled approbation, and conducted him to his house, where Abba Thulle and several of the principle people were assembled. After paying his respects to them, Mr. Sharp was informed, that during Raa Kook's stay at Oroolong, the swelling had subsided by means of the fomentation, and they had forced the spear through his foot, as the only method of extracting it. At this time, the whole army was setting out on a third expedition, which the young man hearing, could not bear the thoughts of being absent from. He therefore insisted upon being carried to his canoe, where, though he could not stand on his feet to fight, he could raise himself so much  
up



up as to throw a spear. He, therefore, went along, and very early in the engagement fell a sacrifice to his magnanimity; a spear entering through his throat, occasioned his immediate death. It is impossible to pass over in silence the unhappy fate of this gallant youth. A spirit more truly heroic, history has not left on record; nor need we hesitate to say, that there was more real valour displayed in this action, which accident only has brought on record, than in many feats which have attracted the admiration of ages. Success again crowned the natives of Pelew, by the assistance of the English, though the enemy behaved with great resolution.

Soon after, Raa Kook desired Mr. Sharp and the boatswain to accompany him to the water side, where two canoes were waiting, into which they went, accompanied by about twenty rupacks, whom they had not formerly seen, as they belonged to another island, though friendly to Abba Thulle. Mr. Sharp knew not whither they were going, but suffered himself to be conducted by his friend. They landed upon an island about four miles distant from Pelew. They went a little way up into the island, to a small, uninhabited village, where there were four or five houses, surrounded by a neat pavement.

After resting about an hour here, they set forward to a town about half a mile distant, where a great many people of both sexes were assembled, and an entertainment prepared. Immediately after this the women retired; and soon after their attention was drawn to the sound of distress and weeping at a little distance; the voices appeared to be principally those of women. Raa Kook immediately led Mr. Sharp from the company



to the place whence the noise proceeded. They found a great multitude of women attending a dead corpse, which was neatly wrapped in a mat, and supported by four men. They kept up a constant lamentation, and were just about to lay it down, when the strangers joined them. The body was immediately deposited in the grave without any ceremony, while the men who had borne it on their shoulders, proceeded to cover it quickly with the dust. The women then kneeled down, and their cries increased so much, that they appeared as if they were anxious to tear up the very body again which had been just buried.

A heavy shower of rain obliged Mr. Sharp to leave this interesting scene to seek shelter, but he never could learn the cause of Raa Kook's behaviour on this occasion; as, notwithstanding the uncommon regard he had for his late son, whose body they were convinced it was, he preserved the most profound silence on the subject; nor did he appear particularly interested. The most probable conjecture they could form was, that he considered it to be below that dignity of mind, which he, on all occasions, wished to support, to appear concerned on an occasion which generally produces those feelings that betray what they consider as human weakness.

The night proved very stormy, so they could not return to Pelew, but spent the evening with Raa Kook. In the morning Raa Kook carried Mr. Sharp and the boatswain to a little hut contiguous to the place where his son had been buried. Here they found only an old woman, to whom the general spoke for some time. She then went out, but returned in a little, bringing  
with



with her two old cocoa-nuts, some red ochre, and a bundle of betel-nut with the leaves. He took the cocoa-nuts and crossed them with the ochre, placing them one on each side by him; after which he repeated something to himself, which they supposed to be a prayer. He then crossed the betel-nut in the same manner, and sat musing over it a little, when he gave them to the woman, who carried them out, as Mr. Sharp supposed, to the grave; he wished to follow her, but as Raa Kook appeared under great agitation, and not inclined to rise, he did not leave him, nor enquire farther.

Mr. Sharp entertained his friends with the inspection of his watch and surgical instruments, with which they were greatly pleased, as well as with the description he gave them of the mode of performing various operations.

Their countrymen they had left at Pelew were in great distress about their absence. They had been witnesses to the funeral of another young man, who had been slain in the same battle. As they were accidentally straggling through the fields, about two miles from Pelew, they observed a great number of the natives going towards a village, with Abba Thulle at their head. They came to a large pavement, where the king was seated, and a great crowd surrounded him. Those who bore the corpse, moved slowly on before the king, who addressed them in a speech, probably recapitulating the qualifications of the deceased.

This eulogium he delivered with great solemnity; and the respectful silence of all around him, added a degree of affecting grandeur to the scene. The body was then carried to the grave, attended by women only, and thither Mr. Matthias Wil-



son followed. He observed an aged woman getting out of the new-made grave, whom he supposed to be the mother or some near relation of the deceased, who had been examining if every thing was properly prepared to her mind.

The last offices they always commit to the women, as the men who are nearly interested, or relations, might be led to discover some exterior marks of grief, which they consider as derogatory to the dignity of manhood. Immediately on the body being laid in the grave, the women set up loud lamentations, as in the case of Raa Kook's son, and Mr. Wilson left them.

Their graves are made in the same manner as in Europe. Some have a flat stone laid horizontally on the grave, to prevent any person from trampling upon it. They have also particular spots of ground set apart for the purpose of burying their dead.

It exceeds our limits to relate all the various turns which took place during the contests between the natives of Pelew and those of Artin-gall. Suffice it to say, that Captain Wilson lent every aid to his friends, and obtained and deserved their esteem. Soon after his return to Oroolong, he found it necessary to use discipline. During his absence, the cook had misbehaved exceedingly, appropriating a great part of the small portion of meat they were allowed, to himself and his assistant.

As it was requisite, in their present situation, that the strictest discipline should be exercised, Captain Wilson, by a court martial, ordered him a cobbing.

The native tenderness of Raa Kook's disposition, who was present, appeared eminently on  
this



this occasion. When he saw the man stripped to the waist, and his hands tied against a tree to keep them extended, he entreated Captain Wilson to pardon him: this, however, could not be granted.

The punishment of cobbing is inflicted by a thin flat piece of wood, like a battledore; which Raa no sooner saw exercised, and the man bearing it patiently, than he was reconciled, standing by and encouraging him all the time.

A Chinese was also punished in the same manner, for wounding one of his countrymen with a stone. But he set up such a hideous cry, that Raa Kook was greatly entertained with his cowardice, or rather despised him for his want of fortitude.

The schooner now was considerably advanced; and every circumstance conspired to brighten their prospects. On the 17th of October, Abba Thulle arrived with the agreeable news, that the chief minister of Artingall had been at Pelew, with offers of peace, which had been concluded upon, to the great joy of Raa Kook, and the other natives. Abba Thulle brought his youngest daughter with him, named Erre Bess, of whom he appeared to be exceedingly fond. He conducted her through all the cove, and explained the use of every thing with much attention. Besides her he also brought with him, on this visit, Ludee, one of his wives; a very beautiful woman, young, and greatly superior to any they had hitherto seen. Her genteel deportment and graceful step, drew the attention of every beholder. She had with her eight or ten females, who were all escorted by Raa Kook, and shewn the forge, vessel, guns, tents, and other curiosities, with  
E 2 which



which they were greatly surpris'd. The king had also brought some of his artificers with him, or tacklebys, as he called them, to observe the progress of the vessel, and the manner of working. He seem'd peculiarly anxious that they should pay attention to the schooner, which all ranks agreed in considering as the *ne plus ultra* of human mechanism.

After their curiosity had been fully satisfied, the captain prepared an entertainment for them in the tent, consisting principally of fish, and boiled rice, sweetened with molasses, of which they appear'd very fond.

A good deal of conversation took place on this visit, between the king and Captain Wilson, on various subjects. Abba Thulle acknowledged that the English muskets had now procur'd him peace with almost all his neighbours; he at the same time request'd, that the captain would leave ten muskets with him when he left the island. This Captain Wilson told him would not be in his power, as Britain was at present engag'd in war with several different nations, with whose vessels they might fall in on their return homeward, and so require defensive weapons; but he promis'd him five, which greatly pleas'd him.

Abba Thulle then enquir'd what quantity of powder they had; but, observing that Captain Wilson was not dispos'd to answer him readily, he very politely chang'd the subject.

The captain then desired he would assure his neighbouring islanders, that the English, deeply sensible of the kind usage they had received from the inhabitants of Pelew, were determin'd to return very soon, in a much larger ship, and with a greater number of men, and fully avenge any  
insult



insult that might be offered to the Pelewites, either by the people of Artingall, or any other island.

Agreeable to a former promise of Captain Wilson's, Abba Thulle then informed him, he had come, at this time, to get the guns from the wreck, which should either be placed at Oroolong or Pelew, as the English pleased. Captain Wilson, having previously consulted his officers, desired him to take them all to Pelew, except one, which they might perhaps need in the schooner. Accordingly, next day, the king ordered some of his people to go to the wreck in order to remove them. Having no tackle, they found it a very difficult job, and were forced to send for assistance from their friends. The Englishmen speedily lodged them in the canoes to the surprise of the natives, who could not conceive it possible to handle these heavy pieces with such apparent ease.

The king lodged at the back of the island, carrying with him all his attendants, that the English might be as little interrupted by them as possible. He had not been long there, when he sent for Captain Wilson, to give him ten large fish, part of a quantity his people had taken. Of these he would only receive four, which would fully serve all his people for supper; and such is the nature of the climate, that no fish will keep fresh above five or six hours. The king then ordered the remaining six to be dressed for keeping, and sent to the cove in the morning. Their method of cleaning and dressing them is as follows; the fish is first well cleaned, washed, and all the scales taken off; then two sticks are placed lengthways of the fish, in order to keep it straight, in the same



manner as sticks are placed across salmon in this country when kippering. It is then bound round with broad plantain leaves, and smoked over a slow fire. In this state it will be eatable for at least two days, though not very pleasant to those unaccustomed to such a mode of preserving.

In the morning, the ears of the English were saluted with the noise of singing in the woods, which proved to be Raa Kook and his attendants coming across the country, with the six dried fish. This morning the king went to the wreck, and returned to the cove, and breakfasted on tea with Captain Wilson, three Artingall people being also of the party. After breakfast, the strangers were led through the works, and their surprise was nothing inferior to any that had yet been expressed. The guns particularly interested them, as the means by which so many of their countrymen died, in a manner then incomprehensible.

In a few days they had a farther opportunity of seeing the effects of the muskets, by Mr. Benger's killing some pigeons while on wing; they ran to the carcases, and examined them very attentively, and, upon noticing the wounds, observed, it was with such holes as these their countrymen died. On this occasion the Pelewites seemed to exult a little over their neighbours, on the ignorance which they shewed of the use of firearms. The people of Artingall, however, retained no animosity on this account, but seemed quite happy and at ease. Thus these people, though fierce in battle, as soon as peace is concluded, wisely forget the past. Happy would it be for more polished nations to imitate them in this respect!



The vessel, being now nearly completed, a consultation was held, to fix on the safest method of launching her, which was agreed to be lay-ways. They had neither pitch nor rosin to pay her with. This want, necessity, the mother of invention, taught them to supply by burning coral stone into lime; then sifting it thoroughly, they mixed it up with grease, and found it an excellent succedaneum.

Some time before this, Madan Blanchard, one of the common sailors, who had accompanied the natives in their different expeditions, had expressed his desire to some of his comrades to be left behind. At first it was supposed he was not in earnest: but when the captain was apprised of his real inclination, he endeavoured to dissuade him from such an unaccountable step. Finding, however, that no arguments could make any impression on his mind, or shake his resolution, he determined to make a merit of necessity; and, therefore, when Abba Thulle came down to Oroolong, to attend the launching of the schooner, he signified to his majesty, that as a return for the hospitality with which the English had been treated, they would leave one of their comrades with him as a perpetual resident, who was fully qualified to manage the great guns and other things, that were to be presented to him at their departure. The idea was by no means thrown away; the king was gratified beyond measure.

This night Blanchard spent with the king, and was well entertained. All the crew regretted much to part with Blanchard. His agreeable behaviour, made him regretted by all his companions, who lost no opportunity to speak in  
his



his behalf to the natives. This resolution of his, however, was inexplicable; as it is difficult to conjecture what motives could urge him to forsake that class of mankind, among whom he had hitherto lived, and be separated from them, perhaps forever. As Abba Thulle, Raa Kook, and the natives in general, considered his remaining among them as a very great compliment, they were resolved to render him happy; and promised to make him a rupack, to give him two wives, together with a house and plantations.

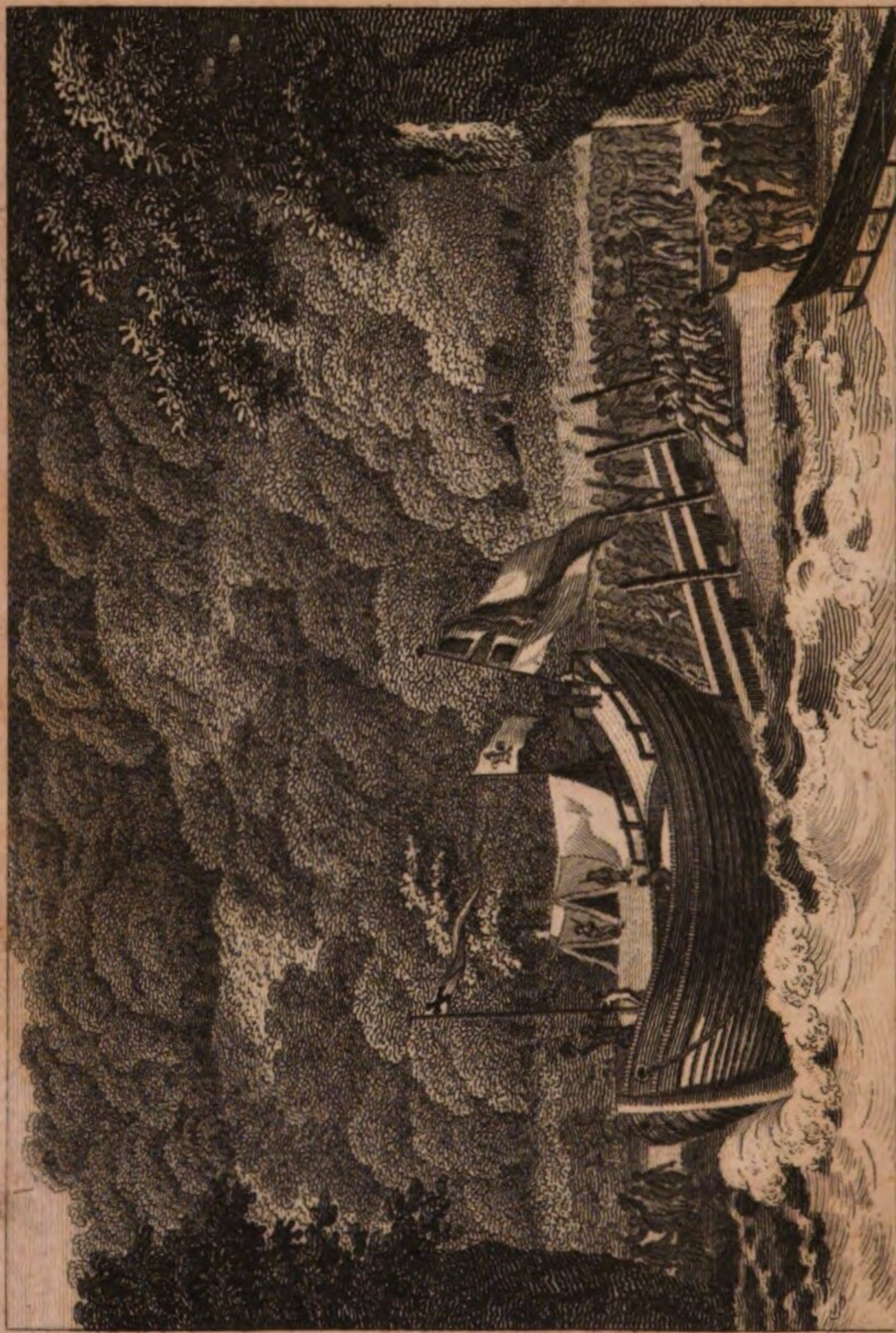
Blanchard was about twenty years of age, of rather a grave turn, but possessing much native humour. What rendered his resolution the more extraordinary was, its being known that he had formed no particular attachment on the island; but man often displays singular freaks, and perhaps his real motives will ever be unknown. He certainly was courageous in an eminent degree, and no quality is more valued among the natives. Unfortunately he could neither read nor write; else, should succeeding navigators fall in with him, he might have been able to furnish memoirs which would have interested every admirer of simple nature; and every heart of sensibility will have an anxious desire to know the fate of a man, who made himself a voluntary recluse from the rest of the world.

We come now to contemplate a scene peculiarly interesting. Next morning the English proceeded, before day-break, to make ready for the launch; it need scarcely be mentioned, that uncommon pains were taken to put every thing in the most favourable train for getting the vessel afloat. About seven, the king and attendants were desired to be present, and in a little time  
the









Corbould del.

Cook sc.

# Launch of the Croolong<sup>p.46.</sup>

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the schooner was safely launched, to the general joy of every spectator, and, by Abba Thulle's desire, was named the Oroolong. Never was there a more affectingly happy scene.—Every eye seemed to sparkle with a lustre borrowed for the occasion.—Every countenance looked animating joy and heartfelt satisfaction; but few among them could utter their feelings; looks of congratulation circulated around, while every one shook his neighbour's hand with warmest fervor. Home, wives, parents, children, friends—all—all seemed as within grasp.—But description is unequal to this task. Let not, however, the behaviour of their Pelew friends be forgotten. In their joy, which was also unbounded, real philanthropy was to be seen.—They saw, by this occurrence, those friends whom they valued, about to leave them; those friends by whom they had been so much benefited, and from whom they had learned so much.—But they saw them happy.—They knew their whole comfort depended upon the success of this event, and therefore their benevolent hearts participated in the general joy.

After a very happy breakfast indeed, they proceeded to carry every thing aboard, with all possible expedition, and in the afternoon, the flood tide coming in, the ship was hauled into the basin, a deep place of four or five fathoms water; and, in the course of the day, they got on board all the provisions and stores, such only excepted as were to be given in presents to the king; and in the morning took on board their anchors, cables, and other necessaries, making bitts, and fitting a rail across the stern of the vessel.

The weather and wind appearing favourable, the captain informed Abba Thulle, that they  
purposed



purposed sailing the next day. This very much distressed him; for he had sent word to the neighbouring rupacks, that the day following that now mentioned by the captain, was the day the English meant to sail. In consequence of which they were to come to Oroolong the next night, to furnish them with provisions, and bid them farewell. This information determined the captain still more to set sail in the forenoon, as the number of canoes to be expected, would greatly incommode them. He therefore apologized in the best manner he could to the king, who appeared greatly disappointed. He then begged that the captain and officers would dine with him and his brothers on shore. With this they cheerfully complied, and after dinner, the king signified his intention of investing the captain with the order of the BONE, and making him a rupack of the first rank. The captain expressed his acknowledgments for the intended honour, when the bone was drawn over his left hand, with great solemnity, by the chief minister and Raa Kook, on which the whole assembly testified their joy. The king, then addressing the captain, told him "that the bone should be rubbed bright every day, and preserved as a testimony of the rank he held among them; that this mark of dignity must, on every occasion, be valiantly defended, nor suffered to be torn from his arm, but with the loss of life."

Our readers may perhaps smile at this simple badge of dignity; but they should recollect, that the object and the end are every where the same; and that a star on the breast, or a bone on the arm, in themselves are equally insignificant. All public  
honours



honours hold out a prize to merit, and in this light only should they be regarded.

As a farther proof of Abba Thulle's confidence, he proposed intrusting Captain Wilson with the care of his second son, Prince Le Boo, whose affecting story will soon be recorded. The king's object in this, was to improve the young man in the knowledge, which he saw the English possess in an eminent degree, and to render him useful to his native country in future. Raa Kook also solicited permission to accompany them; but this request was refused by the king, from very prudential motives of policy.

Arra Kooker, who from the first, seemed to have set his heart on the Newfoundland dog, so warmly importuned the captain for his favourite, that they could not resist his solicitations. But the general's intention was far otherwise employed. He was already building a ship in imagination; and, to realize his design, wished them to leave their launching ways, saying he would go to work on the same place.

The king had laughed at the insignificance of Arra Kooker's request of the dog; but the subject of ship-building caught his most serious attention. It was of national importance, and of course demanded the patronage of a good prince.

In the midst of their discourse, a battle on board the ship between two sailors, called for the presence of the captain. The damage proved no greater than a bloody nose, which being settled, Mr. Wilson again returned. When the circumstance was explained to the king, he observed that there were, no doubt, bad men in all countries.



Permission was asked, and obtained, to hoist an English pendant on a tree near the cove, with an inscription as follows, on copper, to be placed on another tree adjacent :

THE HONOURABLE  
ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SHIP,  
THE ANTELOPE,  
HENRY WILSON, COMMANDER,  
WAS LOST UPON THE REEF NORTH OF THIS ISLAND,  
IN THE NIGHT  
BETWEEN THE 9TH AND 10TH OF AUGUST;  
WHO HERE BUILT A VESSEL,  
AND SAILED FROM HENCE  
THE 12TH OF NOVEMBER, 1783.

Captain Wilson explained the purport of this inscription to Abba Thulle, who was greatly pleased with it; and, having explained it to his people, he assured the English, that it should carefully stand there in remembrance of their visitors.

The conversation this day was principally confined to the approaching separation. "When you are gone," said the king, "I much dread that the Artingalls will redouble their attempts against me: and, deprived of your aid, I shall probably feel the effects of that animosity they have always had towards my people, and having no more the English to support me, I shall not be match for them, unless you leave the few muskets you promised me.

The captain was quite satisfied to comply with the request immediately; but most of the officers, who still had apprehensions, were unwilling to give up the arms till the last moment. That unlucky suspicion, of being detained, which had so ungenerously



ungenerously taken possession of them, had been so rivetted in their minds, that it was not easily dislodged. It is necessary, however, not to condemn our countrymen too hastily. They had been accustomed to see roguery so generally, and so scientifically practised, that distrust and suspicion are naturally instilled among the first principles of education; and it was not easy for them to conceive, that the same species should be so very different, even at opposite quarters of the globe; but here they saw the open, undisguised actions of nature, knowing no deceit, and dreading none.

Abba Thulle was too quick-sighted not to observe their distrust; and it is not easy to express the agitation which laboured in his breast, on finding that doubts were harboured of his sincerity. "Why," said he, "should you distrust me? I never refused you my confidence. If my intentions had been hostile, you would have known it long ago, being entirely in my power. But, on the contrary, you have had my utmost assistance; and yet, at the very last, you suspect me of bad designs!"

The earnestness of his manner, spoke his feelings more than his words; nor need it be doubted, that a little recollection brought the blush into the countenances of those whom he addressed. The man who had uniformly behaved with such disinterested, unsuspecting benevolence—the man who freely committed his own son to their care, to be doubted within a few hours of their parting, was a stab, which the sensibility of Abba Thulle could not support. The severity and truth of his reproach, and the noble dignity with which he supported himself, brought the daring thought,



which some had entertained, of butchering him and his brothers, to view, and gave a most captivating picture of the mild, yet forcible triumph of virtue. They found themselves guilty, and saw evidently, that virtue will flourish in whatever soil she is implanted. Without further hesitation, they sent on board for all the arms that could be spared; and on the boat's return, presented him with five muskets, five cutlasses, more than half a barrel of gunpowder, and flint and ball in proportion. Once more harmony was restored, and the generous Abba Thulle forgot, or seemed to forget, their suspicions.

The king's second son, Lee Boo, arrived in the evening from Pelew, under the care of his elder brother. Abba Thulle presented him to the captain, and then to the officers. He advanced in so easy and polite a manner, having much good humour and forcible expression in his aspect, that every one was prepossessed in his favour. As it was now growing dark, the officers went on board, leaving the captain behind, at the king's request. Next day Mr. Wilson informed them, that neither he, the king, nor the rupacks, enjoyed much rest; the affectionate father employing the moments in giving advice to his son, and in recommending him to the care of the captain; not, however, from the smallest fear that he would be ill-treated: "I would wish you," said he, "to shew my son every thing that is useful, and make him an Englishman. The fine things he will see may probably induce him to slip away from you in search of less confined gratification; but I beg that you will contrive to calm and subdue the rashness and impetuosity of his youth. I well know, from the different countries he must pass  
1 through,



through, that he will be liable to dangers, and even to diseases that we never heard of, which may kill him; but I also know that death is the common lot; and whether he dies with you, or at Pelew, is of no moment. I know you are a man of humanity; and am, therefore, confident, that if my son be sick, you will look on him with kindness. But should that happen, which your utmost care cannot prevent, let it not deter you or your brother, or any of your countrymen from returning, for I shall rejoice at the sight."

The captain assured the king, that he might rest satisfied of the care and affection with which his son would be treated.—Before Mr. Wilson came on board, he admonished Blanchard (the man who had resolved to renounce his country) as to his conduct among the natives. He desired him to be watchful of the arms and ammunition that would be left behind, that they might defend themselves from their enemies. He begged him not to go naked, like the natives, as it might lessen his importance with them as an Englishman, and countenance an evident indecency; and that he might have no excuse from the want of clothes, all that could be spared was left him; in order, that if he accepted the king's offer of wives, he might be enabled to dress them somewhat after his own custom. The captain did not forget to enforce on him the absolute necessity of continuing his religious duties, and to be particular in keeping Sunday. After this, he was requested to ask any favour that might tend to his future comfort; on which he begged to have one of the ship's compasses, and the masts, sails, and oars, belonging to the pinnace, which also was intended to be left behind.



Wednesday morning early, an English jack was hoisted at the mast-head of the Oroolong, and a swivel fired as a signal for sailing; which being explained to the king, he ordered all the provisions on board, which he had brought for the voyage. A great number of canoes surrounded the vessel, loaded with presents, so that it was with difficulty they could avoid being overstocked. When just ready for sea, a boat was sent on shore for the captain, who then took Blanchard and the men of the boat into a temporary hut that had been erected; and making them kneel, offered up thanksgivings to that Power, who had supported their fainting spirits through so many hazards and toils, and had at last opened to them the door of deliverance. He repeated his advice to Blanchard, earnestly begging him not to forget his religion.

When Lee Boo came to the watering-place, there were sent with him three or four dozen of a very fine fruit, similar to the English apple. It is of a fine crimson colour, and oblong shape. This is a very rare fruit at Pelew, though there are plenty of them in the different South Sea Islands. One of them was given to every officer, and the remainder kept for Lee Boo.

About eight o'clock the captain went on board, attended by Abba Thulle, Lee Boo, the rupacks, and Blanchard. It being doubtful, as the vessel was heavily laden with provision, whether she would be able to get over the reef, it was resolved to land the two six pounders, and leave the jolly-boat behind, as they had nothing wherewith to repair her, and she was almost worn out. In her room Abba Thulle was at great pains to procure them a proper canoe,

Captain



Captain Wilson had recommended Mr. Sharp, the surgeon, to Lee Boo, as his fucalic, or friend, and the young man stuck by him with the greatest attention, attending him to whatever part of the vessel he moved, as his Mentor on all occasions. Blanchard now got into his pinnace, in order to take the vessel in tow, and parted from his old ship-mates with as much composure, as if they were to meet again after a short absence. He shook hands with them with the same indifference, as if they were to sail down the Thames on a coasting voyage—a striking contrast to what followed!

The vessel now proceeded towards the reef, deeply laden with Abba Thulle's bounty, to a degree of superfluity, and surrounded by great numbers of the natives in their canoes, who had every man brought his present, for their good friends the Englees—What a luxurious sight to a feeling heart!—There was no room for them, yet every one exclaimed, “only this from me, only this from me;” and, if refused, they repeated their requests with supplicating countenances and tears in their eyes. Indeed their generosity and affection were so urgent, that a few trifles from the nearest of them were accepted; while the others, unable to bear the seeming neglect, paddled ahead, and put their little presents into the pinnace.

Several canoes went before the vessel, to point out the safest track; and others were waiting at the reef, to shew them the deepest water: from all these precautions, which were directed by the king, the reef was fortunately cleared without any accident.

The king now came along-side, and gave Lee Boo his blessing, which the youth received with



great respect and tendernefs. He next embraced the captain, in much apparent diftrefs, and then cordially fhook hands with all the officers, crying—"You are happy becaufe you are going home, and I am happy becaufe you are fo; but ftill very unhappy at your going away." Once more renewing his affurances of regard and good will, he left the veffel, and went into his canoe. The natives who were to return with the king, looked up to the veffel eagerly, with the moft expreffive countenances, and half diffolved in tears. This proof of delicate fenfibility, and of proved affection, operated fo ftroingly on the feelings of all aboard, that it was with much difficulty they fummoneed refolution enough to give three cheers at their final departure. Raa Kook remained, with a few of his attendants, to fee them out of danger beyond the reef; but was fo highly dejected, that the veffel had gone a great way before he thought of fummoning his canoes to return. As he had been their firft friend, the captain gave him a brace of pistols, and a cartouch-box with cartridges; and the moment of feparation being now come, he appeared fo much affected, that it was fome time before he could fpeak. Pointing to his heart, he faid it was there he felt the pain of bidding them adieu. He endeavoured to converfe with Lee Boo, his nephew; but being unable to proceed, he precipitately went into the boat, and giving them an expreffive glance, as if his mind was convulfed, he instantly dropped aftern; and thus terminated the connection with the natives of Pelew, after a refidence among them from Sunday the 10th of Auguft, 1783, to Wednesday the 12th of November, following.

It



It may not be unseasonable, while the amiable behaviour of these two respectable characters, Abba Thulle and Raa Kook, is fresh in the recollection of the reader, to make a few general observations on their different characters.

Never was a prince more formed to attract and retain the love and admiration of his subjects, than Abba Thulle; his appearance majestic, he commanded with authority; while his affability and easy access, rendered him almost an object of adoration to all his subjects. In one of his councils, there was as much respect paid to his naked unadorned person, as to an European potentate, amidst all his trappings and pageantry, from the furrounding sycophants. His nice honour, and quick feeling were very discernible on many occasions; never was there a reproof more delicate, and yet more poignant, than what he gave the English, on occasion of the late affair with the muskets. He was far from one of those harmless nothings, who hurt nobody because they have not a sense of injuries; while the warmth and sensibility of his heart, won the love of all around him, his dignity of manner, and propriety of conduct, taught them to approach him with respect. He possessed a contemplating mind, and few objects came within his observation, without being attentively considered. The prosperity of his subjects, was the principal object with him. It was this that led him to part with his son Lee Boo, whom he tenderly loved—for this he was at so much pains in examining every thing about the English, that might be serviceable to his people—in fine, his whole attention was engaged in forming and executing plans, for the good of the nation and individuals. In domestic  
life



life he shone remarkably, and took a particular charge of all his own relations; the misbehaviour of his nephew, in an affair of some importance, seemed to give him the greatest pain; while, as the husband and parent, his heart seemed awake to every finer feeling which adorns humanity.

Accident only has made him acquainted with a few of the rest of mankind; and that accident he considered as the happiest of his life; we may perhaps never hear of him again, but, judging from what is already known, he may justly be considered as one of the best of men and of kings.

His brother Raa Kook was a prince of so universally engaging demeanour, and whose every action expressed something so truly valuable, that Englishmen or natives equally admired him. He was so much a friend to the English, that it may be suspected their account of him is partial; therefore little shall here be said, and that little not exaggerated.

His natural temper was cheerful and pleasant, though without that mimicry and humour for which his brother Arra Kooker was remarkable; at the same time he was far from averse to a good hearty laugh when a proper occasion offered. As commander in chief, he was beloved by them all: he dispensed his orders calmly and smoothly, but would not tolerate neglect. No man better understood the necessity of strict discipline; so that while he encouraged his inferiors to use all becoming freedom with him, he kept them at that proper distance, which is the true key to cheerful obedience. In principles of honour, he was by no means inferior to his brother; and not only  
wished



wished that the English should hold him in an honourable point of view, but all the nation; thus it was, that he could not bear the least idea of pilfering among them, and if any thing was missing, Raa Kook soon discovered and punished the delinquent. One day, a chief rupack sought a cutlafs from Captain Wilson in his hearing; the frown instantly appeared, nor would he suffer it to be given him. He was exceedingly delicate in receiving favours himself; and though, from his particular disposition in enquiring after causes and effects, many things about the English were highly prized by him, he was particularly attentive, that nothing should betray any desire for what he thought might not be proper to be given.

His deportment in his family was remarkably pleasant, even to a degree which many in this age of dissipation and stoicism might reckon silly; but let it be noticed, that though the finer feelings shone in the natives of Pelew, to a length many in Britain would call effeminate—yet in fatigue, pain, distress, and death, they appeared as heroes indeed.

Before we proceed to mention the future fortunes of our navigators, the following observations, on the manners and customs of these amiable people, may not prove unacceptable.

As the Antelope was not a vessel fitted out for discovery, and furnished with scientific gentlemen, qualified for making many philosophic observations, the naturalist, or philosopher, must wait the issue of more particular discoveries and enquiries. Men distressed with the dread of perpetual exile, and whose attention was almost wholly occupied about their deliverance, were not the persons



persons for tracing nature accurately in her various appearances and effects.

The Pelew Islands, or, as some call them, the Palos Islands, are situated between 130 and 136 deg. of east longitude from London, and between 5 and 9 deg. north latitude. They are long but narrow, and of a moderate height, encircled on the north by a reef of coral, of which no termination could be seen.

They are plentifully covered with wood of various kinds; such as the cabbage tree, ebony, and a species of the manchineel, the sap of which, when it touches the skin, occasions an immediate swelling and blistering. This tree they consider as unlucky.

But their three most remarkable trees, Europeans are utter strangers to. One is a very handsome tree, and upon boring a hole in it, a thick substance like cream distils from it. Another is very like a cherry tree, in its manner of branching. It has a very thin cover, which is not properly a bark, being as close in the texture as the inner wood, which is very hard. None of the English tools could stand to work it. In colour it is very like, though still prettier than mahogany. The last is like an almond tree; the natives call it carambolla. Betel-nuts, yams, coconuts, and bread-fruit, are their staple articles of livelihood, about which they are principally concerned; and a few oranges, lemons, and the jamboo apple are their delicacies. They have no grain. The islands are in general well cultivated, as the natives spare no pains. All their labour consists in fishing and the cultivation of their grounds. Every man had his own piece of ground



ground so long as he inclined to dwell there; but if he left it for another, it returned to the king, as chief proprietor, who bestowed it on the next that applied for it. One thing was very discernible, that every man had his own canoe, which he kept sacred.

It has already been mentioned, that there are no quadrupeds on the island, except rats. Birds of different kinds were observed flying about, some of them very beautiful, but the greater part of them are those which are known by the name of tropic birds. Whether from their peculiar kinds, or the echoing in the wood, is not easily determined, but the English were ready to think their notes had a very peculiar melody. One, in particular, was uncommonly sweet; but though the sound appeared quite at hand, none of these songsters could be seen.

But we must not omit to mention, that the English have probably taught them a lesson which may be of great service to them. The islands abounded with common cocks and hens, which the natives considered as a very useless animal, and therefore took no pains about them, but left them to wander wild through the woods. At times they would have eaten their eggs, provided they were to their taste, that is, not fresh or lately laid; but if containing an imperfect chicken, they were delicious. They were now, however, taught to eat the flesh of fowls, which they soon found to be a very palatable food.

Few parts of the globe are so well supplied with fish of all kinds, particularly mullets, crabs, oysters, muscles, &c. but the fish most esteemed among them is the shark, the greater part of which they reckon delicious. Several kinds of shell fish they  
eat



eat quite raw, in preference to dressed. They have few fresh-water fish, as there are no rivers on the islands, only a few pools and small springs. They have no salt, and have little conception of sauce or seasoning to any thing they eat. Sometimes they boil both fish and vegetables in salt water, but this was no improvement; but when they eat any thing raw, they squeeze a little orange or lemon juice upon it.

They rise early in the morning, and their first work is to bathe. There are particular places appointed for this; and a man dares not approach the women's bathing places, without previously giving a particular halloo, of which, if no notice is taken, he may proceed; but if they halloo in return, he must immediately retire. They breakfast about eight, and proceed to public business or any other employment till noon, when they dine; they sup about sun-set, and very soon after retire to rest.

The reader will have observed frequent mention is made of sweetmeats in this narrative, a more particular account of which may be proper. They had various sorts. One was prepared by scraping the kernel of the cocoa-nut into a pulp, and then mixing it up with orange juice and sweet drink. This sweet drink is a composition of the juice of sweet canes, which the island produces plentifully. This mixture they generally simmered over a slow fire, which when warm they made up into lumps. It soon turned so hard that a knife would scarce cut it. This the English called choak-dog, but the natives called it woolell. Another sort is made up of the fruit of the tree just mentioned, like the almond tree; and on one occasion they presented Captain Wilson with some



liquid sweatmeats, which they prepare from a root somewhat similar to our turnips.

The natives are in general stout, well made, and athletic. Many of them appeared to be uncommonly strong. They are in general about the middle size, and universally of one tinge as to colour, not wholly black, but of a very deep copper colour. The men have their left ear bored, and the women both. They wore a particular leaf, and at times an ornament of shell in the perforated ear. Their noses are also ornamented, by a flower or sweet shrub, stuck through the cartilage between the nostrils. This custom is not peculiar to Pelew, but is found in many eastern nations, and probably proceeds from their great desire for sweet scents; and though at first it appeared rather disagreeable, from want of use, it is certainly a more pleasant and becoming refreshment to the nose, than the use of tobacco, either in substance or in snuff.

Their teeth are died black; but the English could never learn the method by which it was done, nor farther, than that it was accomplished by means of some herbs when young, and the operation was very painful. The tatooing the body is also done in youth, though not altogether in childhood.

The only appearance of any thing like dress among these natives is in the female sex, who in general wear a piece of mat, or the husks of cocoa-nuts died, about nine or ten inches deep, round their waist. Some of these aprons are very neatly made, and ornamented with a kind of beads. Abba Thulle's daughter, Erre Bess, gave Henry Wilson a present of a very neat one to carry to his little sister.



From the most attentive observations and enquiries the English could make, they were able to collect, that the inhabitants of Pelew believed in one Supreme Being, and a future state of rewards and punishments, but had few religious rites or ceremonies.

It was very clear that they had some strong fixed ideas of divination. When Lee Boo set out to sea, he was, for several days, uncommonly sick; and he then told Mr. Sharp, he was sure his father and friends were very sorry for him, for they knew what he underwent. He was also prepossessed with the same notion when near his dissolution.

That they understood the spirit existed after death, Lee Boo declared, while he was in Britain. For when Captain Wilson informed him, that the intention of going to church was to reform men's lives, and that they might go to heaven; he replied, that, at Pelew, bad men stay on earth, and good men grow very beautiful, and ascend into the sky.

One particular mode of divination was observed, and considered to be peculiar to the king, as none but he used it. They have a plant, not unlike a bulrush, by splitting the leaves of which, and applying them to the middle finger, he judged of the success of any occurrence of moment. Before the first expedition to Artingall, it was noticed that the answer was very favourable; but, when about to sail on the second, the oracle did not appear altogether so agreeable. Abba Thulle, therefore, would not suffer them to enter their canoes, until he had twisted his leaves in such a manner, as he thought they appeared more favourable.



The general character of these natives of Pelew is now pretty well imprinted on the reader's mind, a very few additional observations will suffice. Humanity is the prominent feature in the picture. The English were cast upon their territories, in a state the most helpless that can well be conceived; twenty-seven men, without even common necessaries of life, entirely dependent on their bounty; fed, supported, assisted in their labours, and every thing done for them that was in their power. Let us only for a moment consider the hourly bounty which was poured in upon them, not of their useless provender, but, as the English had many occasions to observe, their best provisions were given to their strangers, while many, perhaps, were scanty enough at home. Only recollect the parting scene. See the crowding canoes holding out presents, not the distant effects of complaisance, but the warm effusions of philanthropy!—Could ostentation, pride, or the hope of retribution influence them? By no means. It was kindness to men they never expected to see again.

Their native politeness was constantly observable; possessing a degree of curiosity beyond any of the South Sea natives. They never, knowingly, intruded, when it was inconvenient. In them it was evident that good manners are the natural result of good sense.

The attention paid by the men of Pelew to their wives, is very uncommon in most parts of the world; and gives a very amiable idea of their domestic lives.

Their marriages seemed to consist in a serious, solemn contract, without any formal ceremony; but they are strictly faithful to one another, and



the utmost decency of behaviour is uniformly supported. A plurality of wives is allowed, though they generally confine themselves to two, a rupack three, and the king five. They name the children soon after they are born, without any ceremony. One of Abba Thulle's wives bore him a son while the English were there, which he named Captain, in honour of Captain Wilson. They are far from being naturally lascivious, and the utmost decency is preserved among them. One of the English, endeavouring to shew a marked attention to a female, was rebuffed in a manner that prevented any farther attempts.

They are, in general, an active, laborious set of people, possessing the greatest resolution in cases of danger, patience under misfortunes, and resignation at their death.

Except a few rupacks, there was little subordination of rank; consequently their employments were pretty much the same. Fencing their plantations, planting their yams, making hatchets, building houses and canoes, mending and preparing fishing tackle, forming darts and warlike weapons, with domestic utensils, and burning chinam, may be said to comprise the whole routine of their avocations.

Those who had a particular turn for mechanical operations, or any uncommon pieces of work, they call tacklebys; it was to them the king often gave particular orders to observe the building of the schooner. Idleness was tolerated in none; the women were as laborious as the men, and the king and rupacks were as much employed as any. Abba Thulle was the best maker of hatchets in the island; and generally laboured at them when disengaged from affairs of state.

They



They had no idea of unemployed time, and therefore it is, that without the proper tools for finishing a fine piece of work, practice had taught them, even with their coarse implements, to execute what a British artist could not have conceived practicable. Their mats, baskets, and ornaments are so curiously wrought, that, when their simple tools are considered, the ingenuity is more to be admired than much superior productions, executed under the advantages which European mechanics enjoy.

That equality of station which appeared evidently among them, and ignorance of those luxuries which civilization introduces, proved no inconsiderable sources of their happiness. The one prevented that ambition which is often so destructive to society, and the other those cares which affluence awakens. In all the connection which the English had with them, robbery or rapine was never named among them. Nature, it is true, allowed them little, but that little they enjoyed with content. Human nature here shone in most amiable colours. Men appeared as brethren. Uninformed, and unenlightened, they grasped at nothing more than competency and health. Linked together as in one common cause, they mutually supported each other. Courteous, affable, gentle, and humane, their little state was cemented in bonds of harmony.

Abba Thulle, the king, was the chief person in the state, and all the homage of royalty was accordingly paid to his person. He was supreme in the greater part of the islands which came within the observation of the English; but Artingall, Pelelew, Emungs, and Emellegree, appeared to be independent, though, from any thing



that could be observed or heard, their form of government was similar.

The general mode of making obeisance to the king, was by putting their hands behind them and bowing towards the ground; and this custom prevailed, not only when passing him in the streets and fields, but when they passed the house in which they supposed him to be. His carriage and demeanour was stately and dignified, and he supported his station very becomingly. He devoted the forenoon to public business, and decided every matter of state by a council of rupacks. They assembled in a square pavement in the open air; the king being placed in the centre, on a stone of larger size than those of the rupacks. They seemed to deliver their minds with freedom, as matters occurred; and the assembly was dissolved by the king rising up.

The afternoon was devoted to receiving petitions, hearing requests, and deciding controversies. These, it may easily be supposed, seldom occurred; for as their property was small and of little value, and as there were no lawyers nor their emissaries to foment disputes, the proper barriers of right and wrong were easily defined. Wrangles and fighting seldom happened, for even a dispute between children was checked by a severe frown, and their impetuosity bridled. When any real injury was done by any one to his neighbour, it was a pleasing sight to see how justice was administered. Their laws were the simple dictates of conscience, as to right and wrong, between man and man. No artful eloquence, or enticing words of wisdom, were employed to mask vice under the cloak of virtue. None of these subterfuges could be employed, whereby



whereby fraud and oppression could be screened. Oaths were unknown, and the simple dictates of truth directed the judge; nor were there any punishments of a corporal kind. To be convicted of injuring a neighbour, was to them more galling and disgraceful than any pillory yet invented by British ingenuity.

Messages were transmitted to the king with great ceremony. The messenger never was admitted into the presence, but delivered it to an inferior rupack, who reported the message to the king, and brought his answer.

The general was next in authority to the king, and acted for him in his absence. He summoned the rupacks to attend when needed, and had the chief command of all the forces; though it was observed, that in actual engagement, when the king was present, he himself took the lead.

The general was to succeed the king in case of his death, and on his demise, Arra Kooker; when the sovereignty would again revert to Abba Thulle's eldest son, then to Lee Boo, and so on. The king had always an attendant, who, though not so high in office as the general, was more constantly about his person. He was considered as the principal minister, and a man of judgment. He never bore arms, nor went on the warlike expeditions. It was remarked, that he had only one wife, and never invited any of the English to his house.

The rupacks were very numerous, and considered in the same light as the nobility are in Britain. They were of different orders. They all attended the king on command, every one bringing with him a certain number of dependants, with their canoes, spears, and darts.

The



The reader will be apt here to trace a similitude to the feudal system; but as the knowledge the English acquired of these matters was very superficial, nothing very conclusive can be ascertained. These, and many other matters, must be left for time to develop. All that can be said farther at present is, that, whatever was their precise mode of government, it was wonderfully adapted for the people.

All the islands appeared populous, but the number is not easily conjectured. There were four thousand active men in the expedition against their enemies; and it was evident, many more were left at home, whose service was not required.

The method they took for building houses, was very ingenious. They raised them three feet from the ground, in order to prevent damp. This space they filled up with solid stone, and overlaid it with thick planks as a floor. The walls were built of wood, very closely interwoven with bamboos and palm leaves, so that no cold or wet could possibly come through. The roof was pointed in the same manner as village-houses are in this country. Their windows come down on a level with the floor, answering also the purpose of doors; and have a sort of shutters, which are occasionally used. Their fires are kindled in the centre of the room, for all the house is in one room, the fire-place being sunk lower than the floor.

Their canoes are admirable workmanship. They are made of the trunks of large trees, in the same manner as those throughout the South Seas, but with surprising neatness. They ornament them with shells, and paint them red. They are of different sizes, but the largest will not carry



carry more than thirty people. The natives row with great ability, infomuch that the canoes, made on purpose for swift sailing, seem scarcely to touch the water, moving with a velocity almost inconceivable.

Their domestic implements are few in number, and very simple. They are the evident productions of necessity, well calculated to answer the ends intended, without much ornament.

Their knives are made of shells, which they sharpen to such an edge as fully answers all common purposes. Their drinking cups are made of cocoa-shells, which they polish with great art.

Their articles for ornament were far from being numerous. The king had a very fine tureen, somewhat in shape of a bird, and finely ornamented with various devices, very neatly cut out upon it. This he made a present of to Captain Wilson. It held about thirty-six English quarts.

The tortoiseshell they wrought into various little dishes, spoons, trays, and other vessels. The shell they have in these islands is of a very beautiful kind, but their manner of working it the English could never get an opportunity of observing.

The English were now once more on the way to China ; and, having wiped away the tear of a friendly farewell, proceeded on their voyage with the cheerful hope of being restored to all they held dear.

The principal person that will figure in the few remaining pages of this narrative, is Prince Lee Boo, a youth of the most promising qualities, and in whose history every reader must feel interested.



He had thrown himself freely into the protection of strangers, deserting his native country, his friends, his all; trusting to the honour of a handful of men, concerning whose existence he had, but a few weeks before, been utterly ignorant.

Captain Wilson instructed him as to decency in his appearance, and desired he would dress as they did. He did so; but soon threw off the coat and jacket, as insupportably cumbersome. He still, however, retained the trowsers, as decency required, and would never afterwards part with them. As they began to advance into a colder climate, he soon resumed the coat and jacket.

His notions of delicacy, from what had been told him, and from what he observed among the English, gradually increased, so that he would not so much as change any part of his dress, unless when by himself. He washed himself several times a day, and kept his clothes and everything about his person very clean.

Not far from the Island of Formosa they fell in with several Chinese fishing vessels and small craft, and soon after anchored near the high land called the Asses Ears. Having engaged a pilot to conduct them to Macao, they arrived there next day.

The Portuguese governor paid Captain Wilson and his crew all manner of attention, and sent plenty of provisions, of all kinds, to the men on board the ship; informing them, at the same time, that peace was now re-established in Europe.

Captain Wilson, Lee Boo, and the officers, had lodgings appointed them on shore, except Mr. Benger, who took the command on board.

An



An exprefs was immediately forwarded to the company's supercargoes at Canton, informing them of their arrival and situation.

Mr. M'Intyre, an old acquaintance of Captain Wilson's, paid them uncommon attention, and infifted on their lodging in his houfe. He had a Portuguefe gentleman in company with him, who invited them to his houfe, in their way to Mr. M'Intyre's, principally on Lee Boo's account, with whom he was greatly taken, and wifhed to introduce him into his family. His houfe was therefore the firft into which Lee Boo entered, and his furprife on this occafion cannot be eafily defcribed. The rooms, the furniture, and ornaments, all feverally crowded fo many new objects on his mind at once, that he was perfectly loft in amazement. It was remarkable, however, that, amidft all his confufion, his behaviour was to the greateft degree eafy and polite; and as he obferved, that he excited the fame curiofity in others that they did in him, he very politely permitted them to examine his hands, defcribed the tatooing, and appeared pleafed with the attention paid him.

On their way to Mr. M'Intyre's, Lee Boo difplayed his native benevolence very remarkably. Obferving the poor Tartar women, with their children tied to their backs, begging, he diftributed among them all the oranges and other things he had about him.

When they reached Mr. M'Intyre's it was late, fo that the table was covered for fupper, and the room elegantly illuminated. A new fcene here burft upon him—the whole feemed to him a fcene of magic. It is impoffible to particularize every thing with which he was remarkably fascinated. A large mirror, at the upper end of  
the



the room, rivetted his attention for a while. He saw his complete perion, and supposed it to be somebody behind, very like himself. He looked, laughed, and looked again, not knowing what to think. Indeed the mirror had a surprising effect on more than Lee Boo. The Englishmen had seen every one his neighbour's face, during all their distresses, but nobody had seen his own. The hollow-eyed, long-visaged appearance they now made, to what they formerly recollected, cast rather a melancholy impression upon their minds.

Next day Lee Boo spent mostly in examining Mr. M'Intyre's house, in which he found abundance of new objects to surprise him. The other gentlemen in the mean time went about purchasing such little commodities as they stood in need of, and every one brought in some little trinket with him for Lee Boo. Among the rest was a string of large glass beads, which almost distracted the poor prince with surprise and joy. He conceived himself possessed of greater treasures than all the Pelew Islands could afford; he ran to Captain Wilson, enraptured with his property, and begged that a small Chinese vessel might be hired to transport them to Pelew, and desired his father might be informed the Englees had carried him to a fine country, from whence he would soon send him some other presents; at the same time adding, that if the persons Captain Wilson should employ, faithfully and expeditiously executed their trust, he would reward them with two glass beads. Happy state of innocence, where the utmost ambition can be so easily satisfied! But this pleasing delusion can only exist with an ignorance of luxury.

While



While at Macao, Lee Boo had frequent opportunities of seeing people of different nations, but soon gave a decided preference to the English, especially the ladies. It has been already mentioned that there are no quadrupeds at the Pelew Islands, and that the Newfoundland dog left there was the first of the species they had seen. They called him Sailor, which name Lee Boo now applied to every quadruped he saw. Horses were his great favourites, he called them clow sailer, or great sailer. He would often go to the stable and stroke their mane and neck, and soon ventured to mount them. He entreated Captain Wilson to send a horse to his uncle Raa Kook.

In a few days Captain Wilson received letters from Canton; the supercargoes desiring him to draw for what money he needed, and ordering the men to be supplied with every necessary in abundance. The kindness shewn them on this occasion by all ranks, at Macao and Canton, all the officers and men speak of in the warmest terms. Captain Wilson and his company embarked for Whampoa in the Walpole, Captain Churchill, leaving Mr. Benger to take care of the Oroolong, and dispose of her.

In a few days they arrived at Canton, having been entertained all the way by Lee Boo, whose admiration at every new object, and sensible remarks at the same time, astonished all who had an opportunity of conversing with him. He was greatly surprised at the various dishes of meat which he saw successively set before them, alleging, that his father, though a king, was happy to serve himself with a few yams and cocoa-nuts; while here the gentlemen had a great many different dainties, and servants attending them



while they were eating. Observing a sailor drunk, he said he would not drink spirits, as they were not fit for a gentleman.

An instance of Lee Boo's strong attachment to those he knew, may be here mentioned, which will serve to point out this striking feature, not in his character only, but in all the natives of Pelew. One day, while sitting at a window which looked towards the sea, he observed a boat making towards shore, in which were Mr. Benger and Mr. M'Intyre. His joy was so great, that he did not take time to tell Captain Wilson or any other in the room the cause of his emotion, but springing from his seat, flew to the shore in a twinkling. Immediately on their landing, he shook hands with them so heartily, and with such expressions of affection, as sensibly affected them. They had disposed of the schooner for seven hundred Spanish dollars, which was considered as a very good price.

Lee Boo became an universal favourite wherever he appeared. His agreeable, good-natured, pleasant behaviour, made him acceptable in every company. He one day very much surprised a company of gentlemen with his dexterity in throwing the dart. A party was formed to have a trial of skill in the factory hall. They hung up a gauze cage, and a bird painted in the middle. They stood at a good distance, and with much difficulty hit even the cage. When Lee Boo's turn came, he took up his spear very carelessly, and, with the greatest ease struck the little bird through the head. He had one day an opportunity of seeing some blue glass, which greatly delighted him. It was a colour he had not before seen. The gentleman, in whose house  
it



it was, made him a present of two jars of the same colour, which greatly delighted him. "Oh! were it possible," he exclaimed, "that my friends at Pelew could see them!"

As the time was now near at hand when the company's ships would sail for England, Captain Wilson laid before his people an account of the produce from the Oroolong, and other articles which had been sold; and giving to every one an equitable share, he addressed the whole company nearly as follows: "Gentlemen, the moment being now arrived, when every one may to advantage follow his own inclination, I cannot part with you without testifying my approbation at the spirited, the judicious, and the manly conduct you have preserved, amidst our trying difficulties; and be assured, that, on my arrival in England, I will represent you to the company as entitled to their particular regard, and I make no doubt but they will reward your toils."

If mutual adversity will reconcile the most inveterate enemies, surely the sufferings of friends must rivet a more forcible affection; and every one now appeared to feel the weight of the remark, for a tender concern was manifest in every countenance. The conduct of Mr. Wilson had been so mild and prudent, and his example so animating, they still wished him for their commander. But it was not now a time for choice. Necessity and reason pointed out their course. Lee Boo and the captain came home in the *Morse*, and the surgeon in the *Lascelles*; while others embarked in different ships.

What has already been mentioned concerning the amiable Lee Boo, has no doubt interested



every reader in his history; we shall therefore pursue it to its unfortunate close.

The *Morse* was commanded by Captain Elliot, with whom Lee Boo made himself very happy. His spirit of enquiry, concerning various objects which he saw, began now to be directed more to their utility than formerly; and he shewed no small anxiety to pick up as much knowledge as possible, with regard to such articles as would be useful at Pelew. His method of keeping his journal was singular. He had a string, on which he cast a knot for every remarkable object he wished to imprint on his memory. These knots he examined daily, and, by recollecting the circumstances which occasioned their being cast, he fixed the transactions on his memory. The officers of the *Morse* humourously remarked, when they saw him referring to his hempen tablet, that he was reading his journal.

He was not forgetful of the crew of the *Oroolong*, about whom he made frequent enquiries. Early in the voyage, he asked for a book, that with assistance, he might learn the English alphabet, which was given him. At St. Helena, he was surprised at the sight of the soldiers, and the cannon on the fortifications; and four men of war arriving during his stay there, afforded new matter of astonishment.

On being taken to see a school, he appeared so conscious of his own deficiency, that he begged he might learn like the boys. While here, he had also opportunities of riding on horseback, of which he was very fond. He galloped with great ease, and sat his horse very gracefully.

Before the *Morse* sailed from St. Helena, the *Lascelles* arrived there, so that he had an interview



view with his first friend, Mr. Sharp. He was exceedingly happy with that gentleman, for whom he had the greatest regard.

When the *Morie* approached the British Channel, the number of ships that passed, confounded his journal, and he was obliged to discontinue his memorandums. But, on landing at Portsmouth, the objects which met his view were so stupendous and grand, that he was involved in silent astonishment, and ceased to ask questions.

The captain proceeded to London, impatient to see his family, and left Lee Boo under the protection of his brother; who, however, soon after set off in a stage-coach, with his charge. Describing his journey, he said he had been put into a little house, which horses ran away with, and that though he went to sleep he did not stop travelling.

On his arrival in London, he was not a little happy to meet with his mentor, his new father, whom he was afraid he had lost. Being shewn his chamber, he could not conceive the use of the bed, it being a four-post one, and of course different from what he had seen on board. Before he would repose himself, he jumped in and out of it several times, to admire its form, and intimated that here there was a house for every thing. It was all fine country, fine streets, fine coach, and house upon house up to the sky; for the huts at Pelew being only one story, he considered every floor here as a distinct house.

Captain Wilson introduced Lee Boo to some of the East India Directors, and to most of his friends, and at the same time shewed him the most conspicuous public buildings; but his prudent conductor kept him from stage and other exhibi-



tions, lest the heat of the place might communicate the small-pox; but the sequel will shew that all his caution was vain.

He was sent to an academy at Rotherhithe, where he was very assiduous in learning to read and write; and he soon became the favourite of all his schoolfellows, from his gentleness and affability. During the hours of recess, he amused his benefactor's family, by mimicking such peculiarities as he observed in the boys at school. He said that when he returned to Pelew, he would keep an academy himself; and he imagined the great men of his country would think him very wise when he shewed them their letters.

He always called his patron, captain, but he would address Mrs. Wilson no otherwise than his mother, although he was told to the contrary, conceiving it a tender expression.

When he saw the young asking charity, he was highly offended, saying they ought to work; but the supplication of the old and infirm met his natural benevolence—"Must give poor old man; old man no able to work."

About this time he appeared to be about twenty years of age, and of a middle size. His expressive countenance, great sensibility, and good humour, instantly prejudiced every one in his favour. His eyes were so strikingly expressive, that, though he knew very little English, his meaning was easily understood.

This quickness of manner and readiness of apprehension were astonishing. A young lady, with whom he was one day in company, sat down to the harpsichord, in order to discover how it affected him. To the music he paid little attention, but he was greatly interested to discover  
how



how the sounds were produced. He at the same time sung a song in the Pelew style, but it was very harsh.

He was naturally polite. One day, at dinner, Mrs. Wilson desired him to help her to some cherries, when Lee Boo very quickly proceeded to take them up with his fingers. She pleasantly hinted his error, when he immediately took up a spoon, his countenance at the same time being suffused with a blush.

Captain Wilson, one day, happening to rebuke his son for some trifling neglect, in the presence of Lee Boo, the generous youth was not happy till he had joined their hands, which he did with the tears of sensibility streaming from his eyes.

He preferred riding in a coach to every other conveyance, as it allowed people, he said, an opportunity of talking together.

He was fond of going to church, because he knew it was a religious duty, the object and final end being the same both at Pelew and in England.

He was present at Lunardi's aerial ascension; and remarked, that it was a ridiculous mode of travelling, as it could be done so much easier in a coach.

He narrowly observed all plants and fruit trees, and said he should take some seeds of each to Pelew. Indeed, in all his pursuits, he never lost sight of what service they might be in his own country.

Being shewn a miniature of Mr. Keate, to whom he was introduced, he immediately recognised the face; and as a proof that he understood the intention of the mimetic arts, he observed,



served, "that when Misser Keate die, this Misser Keate live." The utility of portrait painting could not be better defined. His own likeness was taken by a daughter of that gentleman.

In the midst of Lee Boo's innocent researches, he was taken ill of the dreaded small-pox. Dr. Carmichael Smith immediately attended him, who, in the first stage of the disorder, predicted the fatal consequences which ensued. He cheerfully took the medicines that were administered, and willingly dispensed with the sight of Captain Wilson, when he was told that he never had the disorder, and that it was infectious. In the midst of his illness, hearing that Mrs. Wilson was confined to her chamber, he cried—"What, mother bad!—Lee Boo get up to see her:" which he actually did. Mr. Sharp, the surgeon of the *Antelope*, also attended him.

Viewing himself in a glass just before his death, he turned his head away in disgust at the appearance of his face, which was much swelled and disfigured. Getting worse, and sensible of his approaching fate, he fixed his eyes attentively on Mr. Sharp, and said—"Good friend, when you go to my country, tell my father, that Lee Boo take much drink to make the small-pox go away, but he die—that captain and mother very kind—all English very good men—was much sorry he could not tell Abba Thulle the great many fine things the English got." He then enumerated all the presents he had received, which he begged the surgeon to distribute among his friends and the rupacks.

The dying discourse of this child of nature so affected Tom Rose, who attended him, that he  
could



could not help sobbing most piteously, which Lee Boo observing, asked—"Why should he cry so, because Lee Boo die?"

Thinking Mrs. Wilson's illness arose from his own, he would frequently cry out, she being only in an adjoining chamber, "Lee Boo do well, mother."

The dreadful moment of separation being now arrived, he told Mr. Sharp he was going away; and yielded his last breath without apprehension, and with that native innocence and simplicity which had marked his every action.

The family, the servants, and those who knew him, could not withhold the tears of affectionate regard, when informed of the melancholy event.

The East India Company ordered Lee Boo to be buried in Rotherhithe church-yard, with every possible mark of respect. All who knew him, with the pupils at the academy, attended the funeral; and the concourse was otherwise so great, that it might be supposed his good qualities had been publicly proclaimed, instead of being privately communicated. A tomb, with this inscription, was soon after erected by the East India Company:

To the Memory  
Of Prince Lee Boo,

A Native of the Pelew or Palos Islands;  
And son to Abba Thulle, Rupack or King  
Of the Island Cooroora\*;

Who departed this Life on the 27th of December, 1784,

Aged 20 Years,

This Stone is inscribed,

By the Honourable United East India Company,

\* Cooroora is the proper name of the Island, of which Pelew is the capital town.



As a Testimony of Esteem  
 For the Humane and Kind Treatment  
 Afforded by his Father to the Crew of their Ship,  
 The Antelope, CAPT. WILSON,  
 Which was wrecked off that Island  
 In the Night of the 9<sup>th</sup> of August, 1783.

Stop, Reader, stop! Let Nature claim a Tear;  
 A Prince of mine, Lee Boo, lies bury'd here.

This amiable young prince, whose residence here was only five months, conformed himself to the English dress in every instance, except his hair, which he continued to wear after the fashion of his own country. His countenance was so expressive, that it depicted the best qualities of a virtuous mind. His eyes were lively and intelligent; and his whole manner gentle and interesting. He had the natural politeness of a gentleman, without the drudgery of study, or the observance of established forms of ceremony. After his death, it was found that he had laid by all the seeds or stones of fruit he had eaten after his arrival, with a view to plant them at Pelew.

When we reflect on the unhappy fate of poor Lee Boo, with which the reader is now acquainted, the mind ranges to the habitation of his father Abba Thulle, who, on a cord, had tied thirty knots, as a memento that his son would return in thirty moons, or, perhaps, a few more, for which he was willing to make allowance. Those moons have long since performed their revolutions. The knots are untied; and yet no gladdening sail hovers round Pelew. Lee Boo is dead in reality; and though no more, perhaps, even in the tortured imagination of his expecting family, yet the sight of an European vessel, even at some distant period, would animate their hopes, and  
 recal



recal the fondness of past endearments. How it would have gratified the heart of sensibility to know, that this benevolent and confiding king had seen his son restored to his embraces; how will every reader lament that he probably must ever remain ignorant, that Lee Boo can return no more!

VOYAGE







VOYAGE OF  
*GOVERNOR PHILLIP,*  
TO  
*BOTANY BAY;*

WITH A NARRATIVE OF THE SETTLEMENT  
OF THE COLONIES AT

*PORT JACKSON AND NORFOLK ISLAND.*

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**F**OR a series of years, those who had forfeited a right to enjoy the blessings of society in their own country, and yet, whose crimes did not call down capital punishment upon them, were transported to the British plantations in America. After the unfortunate contest between the colonies and the mother country, which, it is well known, terminated in the independence of the former, it became necessary for British convicts, not sentenced to die, to be employed in some way that might make them sensible of the crimes they had committed, and free the community from the dread of their future depredations. Banishment to the coast of Africa was generally found to be a harsher sentence than death in their own country, and the hulks on the Thames were little adapted to improve the abandoned,



or prevent a repetition of crime. Penitentiary houses were soon seen to be equally inefficacious to answer, at once, the purpose of punishment and reformation; and, therefore, government projected the scheme of establishing a colony of convicts on the coast of New Holland. To this plan of wisdom, policy and humanity united, the legislature gave its sanction in the beginning of the year 1787, and preparations were immediately set about to carry it into execution.

Captain Arthur Phillip, of the navy, was appointed commodore of the voyage, and governor of the new colony; and it appears, that a more prudent choice could not have been made. This gentleman was born in London in 1738; and at the age of sixteen began his maritime career. He went through the usual routine of service with applause, was at the capture of the Havannah, and in 1761 was promoted to a lieutenancy by Admiral Sir George Pococke.

By the succeeding peace his services were rendered useless to his country, he therefore engaged in the Portuguese navy, in which he served with great reputation, till war again breaking out between Britain and France, he returned to fight for his king and country; and was soon after made master and commander. In 1781 his merit procured him the rank of post captain, and he was appointed to the *Europe*, of sixty-four guns, towards the close of that year. In 1783 he sailed with a reinforcement to the East Indies, where he remained till the conclusion of the war.

Prudent and active, a perfect master of his profession, and estimable as a man and an officer, those qualities could not fail to recommend him  
to



to the attention of his superiors, and to point him out as a proper person to conduct an enterprize of no ordinary difficulty.

The fleet began to rendezvous about the middle of March 1787. It consisted of the *Sirius* frigate, Captain John Hunter; the *Supply*, armed tender, Lieutenant H. L. Ball; the *Golden Grove*, *Fishburn*, and *Borrowdale*, store ships; and the *Scarborough*, *Lady Penrhyn*, *Friendship*, *Charlotte*, *Prince of Wales*, and *Alexander*, transports.

As this was a voyage of uncommon length, and its object was not of a temporary nature, a considerable time was necessary to equip and provide the ships, and to make such arrangements as might prevent miscarriage or avoidable danger. Besides the usual complement of sailors, a party of two hundred and twelve marines, including officers, were distributed in the different ships to keep the convicts in awe; and these marines had twenty-eight wives and seventeen children allowed to accompany them. The whole number of convicts amounted to eight hundred and twenty-eight, of whom five hundred and fifty-eight were males.

Governor Phillip having hoisted his flag on board the *Sirius*, as commodore, gave the signal to weigh on the 13th of May 1787, and was accompanied to some distance by the *Hyæna* frigate, to carry back dispatches, if necessary.

The wind having wafted them along at a great rate, on the 20th the *Hyæna* returned, and brought intelligence, that the convicts in the *Scarborough* had formed a plan for getting possession of that ship, which the officers had timely detected and prevented. This was the only at-



tempt of the kind made during the voyage: when these victims to justice found themselves at a distance from their native shores, it is probable, they gave up all thoughts of liberty, and yielded to their fate.

During their passage to Santa Cruz, where the fleet anchored on the 3d of June, they had generally favourable gales, and experienced no disaster deserving mention. The chief object that induced Governor Phillip to touch at Teneriffe, was to procure a fresh supply of water and vegetables. Here the crew and convicts were indulged with every article of food that could tend to promote health and remove disease; and the judicious and humane plans of Captain Cook were uniformly observed during the voyage, and, in general, with the best effects. It cannot, indeed, be said, nor was it reasonable to be expected, that the mortality was so small, in proportion to the numbers, as under that able navigator. Numbers of the convicts were advanced in years, and their constitutions had been previously broken by their dissipated habits, or the long confinement of a prison.

They spent a week at this place, and during their stay, the Governor of the Canaries paid the most polite attention to the English officers, and exerted himself to render their visit agreeable.

These islands were certainly known, in some degree, to the ancients, who dignified them with the title of *Fortunate*; and invented many fables respecting them, which had little foundation in truth or nature. But the moderns are not wholly free from the same imputation. For a long time, the Isle of Ferro was celebrated for producing a miraculous tree, round which mists were said perpetually



perpetually to hover, and, distilling into rain, supplied the whole island with water. This fiction, it is almost needless to say, can only be equalled by the accounts with which the public have been amused, respecting the poison tree of Java. The Canaries, indeed, produce no wonders but what are common to volcanic countries. The Peak of Teneriffe, one of the greatest natural curiosities, has had no eruption, of any consequence, for near a century; nor, with all its boasted height, is it equal to Mount Blanc in Switzerland\*.

Finding vegetables less plentiful here than they expected, they weighed anchor on the 10th of June, with an intention of making a short stay at Port Praya; and in eight days they came in sight of the Cape Verd Islands, when the fleet steered for St. Jago. Unfavourable winds, however, rendered it likely to prevent their getting into the harbour; and that no time might be lost, the governor altered his plan, and proceeded directly to Rio de Janeiro. This was a sensible disappointment to many on board, who were naturally desirous of embracing every opportunity of enjoying the refreshments of the shore. But influenced by expedience alone and a regard to his duty, he determined not to lose time, which, in every point of view, was an important consideration.

They had already suffered some inconvenience from heat, attended by heavy rains; but before they reached the equator, contrary to what might

\* The elevation of Mount Blanc above the level of the sea is calculated at fifteen thousand six hundred and seventy-three feet, that of Teneriffe at twelve thousand one hundred and fifty.



reasonably have been looked for, the temperature became more moderate, and the crews happily continued in tolerable health.

On the whole, the weather was most propitious, and they made such progress that, on the 5th of August, they came to an anchor off the Harbour of Rio de Janeiro. This city, otherwise called St. Sebastian, is situated on the west side of a bay, somewhat less than a degree from the tropic of Capricorn. It has long been considered as the capital of the Brasils, and is the residence of the viceroy. The diamond mines in the vicinity have procured it this distinction; and its port must be allowed to be one of the finest in the world. It is well fortified, and furnishes a most eligible and safe station for ships. The port dues are pretty high; but these are never exacted for king's ships, and as Governor Phillip alleged, that the transports were laden with royal stores, the whole fleet escaped this customary payment.

Don Lewis de Varconcellos was viceroy. He belonged to one of the noblest families in Portugal, and was not quite unknown to Governor Phillip, who had been some years in the service of that nation. The reception he gave the English was the most polite and flattering imaginable, nor was it tinged with that jealous caution, which some other voyagers seemed to have had great cause to complain of, when they touched at the same place.

As soon as the viceroy was informed of the nature of Governor Phillip's commission, he gave orders that military honours should be paid him; and the officers, in general, were indulged with permission to visit all parts of the city, and even  
to



to make excursions into the country, without the prying vigilance of guards.

Provisions of every kind are so excessively cheap here, that the men were liberally victualled at less than four pence a head per day, including meat, rice, vegetables, and firing. Wine was not plentiful at that season; but a considerable quantity of rum was laid in; and such seeds and plants were procured as appeared adapted to the climate of New South Wales. And lest bread should become scarce, one hundred sacks of cassada were purchased as a substitute. This root is very generally used for bread in the tropical climates, and proves wholesome and nutritious. Nevertheless, in its crude state, it is highly poisonous; but by washing, pressure, and evaporation, becomes not only innocent but salubrious. The art of man triumphs over nature in many instances, as well as this.

At almost every corner of the streets, in this city, are images, to which an external devotion, at least, is paid by every catholic passenger. Sometimes the votaries offer up their prayers aloud, and the air resounds with the notes of hymns. But notwithstanding this appearance of sanctity, the morals of the people do not possess corresponding purity; so much easier is it to perform outward rites, than to acquire internal principles of religion. The greatest devotees are commonly the most abandoned; and the catholic profession, in particular, is so obscured by idle ceremonies, that an attention to them naturally draws off the mind from essentials.

Though no time was lost in expediting the necessary business, a month elapsed before they were ready for sailing. At length, on the 4th  
of



of September they weighed anchor, and passing the fort at the mouth of the harbour, interchanged a salute of twenty-one guns.

Having once more set forward on their destined voyage, they were favoured with such propitious weather, that their progress to the Cape of Good Hope was unproductive of any events worthy of being recorded. A prosperous voyage, like a peaceful life, though most delightful to the parties concerned, is least favourable for the purposes of narration. It is the storm of the elements, or the conflict of passions, that furnishes displays to rivet the attention. This long run, of about four thousand miles, was performed in thirty-nine days.

It was the 13th of October, when they arrived in Table Bay at the Cape. Here they took in their final refreshments, and supplied themselves with such necessaries as were to be procured. Table Bay is a very unsafe station, particularly in the winter months; and at that season of the year, False Bay, on the south-east side of the Cape, is generally preferred, as being more secure.

Our voyagers found provisions in less abundance at the Cape than they had reason to expect, and at considerably higher prices. Board and lodging, in private houses, cost the officers about nine shillings a day, and every thing was proportionably high. But, it is probable, the necessity foreign ships are known to be under of touching here, teaches the natives extortion. Most people are inclined to improve the advantages of their situation, when they are sensible there is no alternative but to submit to their demands.

In the space of a month no less than five hundred animals, of different kinds, were procured  
and



and put on board the ships, and an equal stock of other necessaries was laid in; but at a high price. The country indeed had previously suffered from a dearth, and this naturally increased the difficulty of obtaining an adequate supply at any price. The governor of the Cape paid them the most respectful attention, and entertained the officers at his table.

On the 12th of November, they again set sail, but owing to contrary winds, they found themselves no farther advanced than eighty leagues on the 25th of that month. At this time Governor Phillip went on board the Supply, in hopes of reaching Botany Bay before the rest of the fleet arrived, and of gaining time to explore the country, that a debarkation might take place without delay. Major Ross, the commandant of marines, went on board the Scarborough, and with that ship, the Alexander and Friendship, reputed the best sailers, had orders to proceed, and to leave the rest of the convoy under the conduct of Captain Hunter.

From the date of this arrangement, to the 3d of January, 1788, the weather was as favourable as could be wished, and the winds wafted them on with little impediment. The Supply, however, turned out but an indifferent sailer to what had been expected; nevertheless, she performed this voyage of seven thousand miles in fifty-one days.

The governor having landed at Botany Bay, on the 18th, after experiencing some contrary winds on the coast, an interview with the natives took place. They were all armed; but seeing Governor Phillip approach alone, and without weapons, making signs of friendship, they returned  
his



his confidence, by laying down their arms. These people were perfectly naked; but appeared fond of ornaments, and were pleased to wear whatever was given them. Amity was soon established, which happy effect was owing to the personal address of the governor. His orders, indeed, enjoined the utmost attention to conciliate the affection of the natives; and his own humane conduct rendered it delightful for him to observe them.

He now proceeded to examine the bay; but it was found in every respect less eligible than had been represented, both in itself, and in the surrounding country, which was low and swampy. He then reconnoitred Point Sutherland; but to this part of the harbour ships could not approach, nor was the soil more tempting than before.

While engaged in this necessary business, the whole fleet arrived. The Supply had not so much outailed the other ships, as to give the governor the time he expected. The last division arrived only two days later than himself.

Finding Botany Bay unfit for the intended settlement, he resolved to examine Port Jackson, which lay to the north, about three leagues distant: and here all difficulties were found to be at an end. The port was deep and secure, and after exploring the different coves, he fixed on one which had the finest spring of water, and in which ships could anchor close to the shore. This the governor named Sydney Cove, in honour of the noble lord of that title, who was then in administration.

Soon after the boats arrived at Port Jackson, another party of the natives made their appearance. They were armed with lances, and at first  
shewed



shewed an hostile disposition; but by gentle means were prevailed on to lay aside their suspicions, and to accept some presents. A person who appeared to be a chief among them, shewed very singular marks of confidence in the strangers, and at the same time much resolution. He singly attended the governor, went to a part of the beach where the men were boiling their meat, examined the contents of the pot, and seeing himself separated from his friends, advanced to a party of marines, and by his gestures seemed to threaten revenge, if any advantage should be taken of his exposed situation. It is probable he might profit by what he saw; and as the natives of this coast have no other mode of dressing their food than by broiling, a new plan of cookery could not be a small acquisition to them.

As they kindle fires with much labour, when once lighted they generally keep them burning, or at least never extinguish them; but convey them from place to place even in their canoes.

In examining a different part of the harbour, they fell in with about twenty of the natives, who, fearless and unarmed, approached to view the boats. Pleased with their confidence, the governor called the spot Manly Cove, in testimony of the manly behaviour they shewed. These people afterwards joined the English at dinner. One of them had a kind of white clay rubbed over the upper part of his face, as a mark of distinction not unusual amongst them. A woman had been seen on the rocks thus ornamented, who made a most disgusting appearance; but in the eyes of her countrymen, she probably had superior attractions.



Having sufficiently explored Port Jackson, and found it replete with conveniences, the governor was determined to hesitate no longer, and immediately issued his orders for the whole fleet to proceed to this place.

That Botany Bay should be so highly extolled by Captain Cook, may easily be accounted for. He had no views of a permanent stay, and did not scrutinize its advantages. The land has certainly a picturesque effect, and the ample harvest of botanical curiosities it furnished, might entitle it to the commendation of the scientific; but something more than beauty of appearance and philosophical riches were to be regarded, in a place where numbers were to be established, and a lasting settlement formed,

Just as preparations were making for a general removal to the intended station, two French ships appeared, and spread consternation through the whole fleet. Accident, it was supposed by many, could not bring about such an event; and conjecture as to a motive was lost in uncertainty. While imagination was thus busy in painting idle fears, or forming useless schemes, the governor fortunately recollected, that the French were engaged in a voyage of discovery, and concluded that these two ships had been on that business. But the wind and currents preventing the French from approaching the harbour, and even driving them off the coast, he did not delay proceeding to Port Jackson on their account.

Scarcely, however, was the Supply, which led the squadron, out of sight, when the strangers again made their appearance off the mouth of the harbour, when a boat was dispatched with offers of any assistance or information in the power of the English



English to give. The governor's opinion was now verified, it was found that these vessels were the *Bouffole* and the *Astrolabe*, under the command of M. de la Peyrouse.

On the 26th of January, all the transports and store ships finally evacuated Botany Bay, and in a short time assembled in safety at Port Jackson. The French ships had anchored in the former, before the departure of the *Sirius*, and Peyrouse had expressed his wish, that letters might be forwarded to Europe through the medium of the English. Governor Phillip being apprized of this, readily accepted the intended charge, with assurances of punctual delivery.

M. Peyrouse having sailed from France, in June 1785, touched first at St. Catharine on the coast of Brasil, and entered the Pacific Ocean by Cape Horn. Coasting along Chili and California, he afterwards visited Easter Island, Nootka Sound, Kamtschatka, the Sandwich and Friendly Islands. In this tedious voyage he had lost none of his men by sickness; but the crew of two boats had unfortunately perished in the surf on the north-west coast of America; and at Masuna, one of the *Isles de Navigateurs*, where they had touched, M. l'Angle, captain of the *Astrolabe* had been cut off by treachery. That unfortunate officer had gone ashore with the long-boats, on a watering expedition, accompanied by forty men. The natives had hitherto shewn the most marked civility and good will; and no change of disposition, or cause for it being known, the French trusting to the unbroken state of amity, had suffered the boats to lie aground. This want of precaution, it is probable, tempted the natives to attack the party, which they did in prodigious numbers, throwing



throwing vollies of stones with great force and precision of direction. M. l'Angle and twelve of his men fell a sacrifice to their fury, and the rest with difficulty escaped in their small boats.

The ships being under sail, and out of sight of this melancholy catastrophe, received the first tidings of the affray from those who escaped; and it was too late to attempt revenge. The fate of De l'Angle, added to other recorded instances of the sudden and sanguinary resentments of savages, gives a lesson of prudent caution to all navigators; for though policy and humanity recommend the practice of mild forbearance, and the study of conciliating the affections of the natives, prudence requires that defensive plans should not be neglected, and that a certain degree of awe should be kept up\*.

The debarkation being completed at Sydney Cove, the ground was immediately cleared for an encampment, and store houses and other temporary buildings were begun. The labour attending this was not small: the whole coast is covered with wood, and though on this spot the trees were less thick, and not much encumbered with underwood, yet their magnitude was such, as to render the felling, and removal of them afterwards, a very arduous task, had the convicts been more active workmen than they really were.

In the evening of the 26th, the British colours were displayed on shore, under which the king's health was drank, and other appropriate toasts, with much glee. The bustle of business succeed-

\* The issue of this voyage is still unknown. M. de la Peyrouse never returned; nor have any traces of his fate been discovered.



ed, and till the end of the first week in February, all was a scene of hurry and exertion.

The materials and frame work, of a temporary residence for the governor, had been brought from England; and this was speedily erected. Hospital tents were also fitted up, with all the speed that the exigency of circumstances began to demand. During the passage from the Cape, the fleet had been tolerably healthy; but soon after landing, the dysentery prevailed, and the scurvy broke out with its most virulent symptoms. In the former complaint, the red gum, which is abundantly produced on the coast, was found very efficacious.

The tree which yields this valuable gum, is of considerable size, and grows to a great height without branches. The gum is perfectly soluble in water, and is drawn from the tree by incision, or taken out of the veins of the wood when dry. The leaves somewhat resemble those of a willow: the wood is heavy and fine-grained, but so saturated with the gum which runs through its numberless channels, that it is applicable to few purposes, particularly when green.

A yellow gum, or rather resin, is also found here, the produce of a low small tree, with a kind of gramineous leaves. From the centre of these leaves, the fructification proceeds on a single stem, in a very singular manner, to the height of twelve or fourteen feet. Of this stem, which is strong and light, the natives form their spears, and frequently point them with bone. The resin is most commonly dug out of the soil at the root of the tree, and seems to be what Tasman calls the gum lac of the earth.



February commenced with a violent storm of thunder and rain, during which the lightning struck and shivered a tree, under which was a sheep pen, and five of these animals were destroyed by its effects.

It may be proper to observe, that Port Jackson was not visited by Captain Cook, but only seen at a distance, or it is probable he would have done justice to such a noble harbour, which, in the opinion of Governor Phillip, is superior to any in the known world for extent and security. The entrance is only about two miles across; but it soon spreads into a noble and capacious basin, with soundings sufficient for the largest vessels. It contains not less than one hundred small coves, formed by projections of the land, which afford shelter from all winds. Sydney Cove lies on the south side, about six miles from the entrance. Trees cover even the most rocky spots. The soil is of various qualities, consisting of woodland, heath, and swamps; but in general the country is one continued forest.

Some parts of the shores of this noble harbour presented a promising soil for cultivation; but intent solely on providing the best and earliest accommodations for the colonists, the governor used all possible expedition in fixing the settlement at the head of Sydney Cove, where landing the stores was easy, and carriage unnecessary.

By assiduous application, they had made such progress, that by the 7th of February, a spot being previously cleared, and the whole colony assembled, the governor began to assume his powers. To give all due solemnity to the proceedings, the military were drawn up under arms; the convicts stationed apart, and the principal officers surrounded



rounded the governor. The royal commission was then read by Mr. Collins, the judge advocate, by which Arthur Phillip was constituted Captain General and Governor in Chief of the territory of New South Wales, from lat. 10 deg. 37 min. south, to 43 deg. 39 min. along the coast, and of all the interior country as far as 135 degrees of east longitude from Greenwich, including the adjacent islands in the Pacific, within the above latitudes.

The act of parliament establishing the courts of judicature, were next read; and lastly, the patents under the great seal, empowering the persons named to act, whenever it should be found requisite. Major Ross of the marines was appointed Lieutenant Governor; and a triple discharge of musketry concluded this preliminary ceremony.

The governor then advanced, and addressing the military, thanked them for their commendable conduct hitherto; and then turning to the convicts, explained to them the nature of their present situation and future prospects. He represented, that by the lenity of the laws, their lives had been preserved, and that on their subsequent behaviour it would depend, to gain a re-establishment of the rights and advantages of civil society. To proper conduct and commendable exertion, he told them they had every inducement; and on the contrary, should they misbehave, their crimes in such a small community could not escape detection, nor punishment. All that mercy could do for them had already been experienced, and against future offences the laws would be enforced with rigour. But while his duty obliged him to hold out the rigours of punishment, it would be his happiness to grant every encouragement to the meritorious,



ritorious, proportioned to their deserts. As a bar against profligacy of manners, he strongly recommended matrimony, and promised every countenance to such as should enter into that state, and shew their promptitude to conform to the laws of morality and religion. He concluded with expressing his earnest desire, to promote the happiness of the colony over which he was placed, and to render the settlement honourable and useful to his country.

This harangue was received with universal applause; and it was soon seen, that it was not wholly lost; for in a few days fourteen marriages took place among the convicts.

The company being dispersed, the governor proceeded to review the troops, after which he gave a dinner to the officers; and the first evening of his entry upon the offices of his government, was spent in innocent festivity, amidst reiterated wishes for its prosperity.

Active, intelligent, and persevering, with firmness to make his authority respected, and mildness to render it pleasing, no person seemed better adapted than Governor Phillip for the arduous office he had undertaken. As much depended on being at peace with the natives, it was his determination to avoid disputes, if possible, and to conciliate their good will. But the sequel will shew, that all his exertions in this respect could not effect the end proposed.

While M. de la Peyrouse remained in Botany Bay, he was unfortunately obliged to have recourse to firearms against the natives; and this affair, joined to the subsequent ill conduct of some of the convicts, produced a shyness which it was found difficult to remove. Perhaps, to actual ills  
the



the aborigines suffered, might be added their indignant feelings at seeing their shores usurped by strangers, who deprived them of some of their best fishing places. Such circumstances could not be pleasing: even the most unenlightened have some ideas of natural and original rights, which they either reluctantly part with, or strenuously defend.

As February advanced, the rains began to fall with greater violence, and the necessity for procuring shelter became the more urgent. To the carpenters, all the convicts of this profession were added, and one hundred more of them as labourers, to expedite their temporary buildings. Yet it was some months before they were finished, or the governor could leave his first house, which was neither impervious to the winds nor rains.

Captain Cook having discovered an island, in lat. 29 deg. south, longitude 168 deg. 10 min. east, which he named Norfolk Island, and spoke of in terms of high commendation, a party was sent out in the Supply, about the middle of February, to settle there. To be superintendent of this subordinate colony, the governor appointed Lieutenant Philip Gidley King, of the Sirius, an officer of approved merit and fidelity. As the island was uninhabited, this gentleman had only six marines under a subaltern officer, a midshipman, a surgeon, two men who understood the cultivation and dressing of flax, nine male, and six female convicts. Due regulations were established for the conduct of this enterprise; and every precaution was taken to render this small colony at once safe and happy.

The governor had not been long established at Sydney Cove, before he found, that many individuals under his care were so lost to all sense of  
right



right and wrong, and so regardless even of life itself, that they could not be restrained from offences against their countrymen, or kept from exposing themselves to the savages. Milder means having been tried, and proved to be ineffectual, a criminal court was convened, in which six of the convicts were condemned to die. One of the most daring was executed the same day, another was pardoned, and the remainder were banished to a small island within the bay, where they were subsisted on bread and water. These people had been convicted of frequently robbing the stores, though they had a liberal allowance of provisions; but it seemed as if habit had confirmed the necessity of their following their former nefarious practices, without the least temptation or excuse.

On the 2d of March, the governor set out in the long-boat and cutter, to examine the coast. He proceeded first to Broken Bay, about eight miles to the northward of Port Jackson. Here he fell in with a few of the natives, who appeared friendly; and passing a bar, sailed up an extensive branch of water, which ended in a large lagoon. The land in the upper part of this branch was low and swampy.

Crossing the bay, he sailed up the south-west branch, which he also found very extensive, and sufficiently deep for ships of any burthen; but the incessant rains prevented him from taking an accurate survey. The land here possesses more elevation than at Port Jackson, and is well wooded. Large trees appeared on the very summits of the mountains, inaccessible by man. A third branch presented a very fine piece of water, which the governor named Pitt Water, in honour of the premier. This was found deep and  
very



very extensive. Some situations in the vicinity appeared well adapted for agriculture.

During this excursion, several interviews with the natives took place. At one place they were visited by a few women, in company with the men. One of these females was remarkably cheerful and talkative, which is not usual, at least in the presence of their countrymen, of whom they stand in great awe, and from whom they experience little indulgence. Frequently have the women been seen labouring in the canoes, encumbered with infants at the breast.

On another occasion, as the governor and his company were drawing the seine, a number of the natives again joined them; when it was for the first time observed, that the women in general had lost two joints of the left hand little finger. What could occasion such a singular amputation they could not satisfactorily learn: for it was found in young girls about five or six years of age; and some who were far advanced in life had this finger entire. It therefore cannot be a distinguishing mark of puberty or marriage; neither is it universal, though wholly confined to females\*.

A remarkable peculiarity, however, attends the men, for, though their fingers are entire, most of them want the right front tooth of the upper jaw. Governor Phillip resembling them in this respect, pointed out the agreement, which occa-

\* A traveller of credit informs us, that a tribe of Hottentots, near Orange River, have all lost the first joint of the little finger; but among them a reason for this is given, that it is a cure for a particular disorder to which they are subject. It would be a singular coincidence, to find that the natives of New Holland use this amputation on the same account.



sioned a general clamour; and it is probable he derived some consequence, in their eyes, from this corresponding defect. The cartilage of their nostrils is also perforated, as described by Captain Cook, and through this they thrust a long bone or stick, by way of ornament, which the sailors ludicrously call their sprit-sail yard. Some of the old men, however, had neither this ornament, nor wanted a tooth; so that these may be the marks of distinctions. Where clothes are not worn, the body must bear the badges of dignity.

Several of these people had their skin raised into small vesicles, appearing full of wind; and their bodies were artificially scarred in various parts. Even the head is sometimes marked with these disgusting scars, and one person seemed to take a particular pride in shewing his acquired deformities, as if they entitled him to honour.

The females had a degree of timidity about them, which kept them generally at a distance; not that they appeared to feel any impropriety in being in a state of nature, but probably from the natural reserve of the sex, or the fear of offending the men, by whom they were evidently kept in great subordination.

The natives were observed to fish with hooks made of the internal surface of a shell, resembling mother of pearl, and they are not deficient in dexterity in this art, from which they derive their principal subsistence.

In exploring a part of Broken Bay, the boat found some difficulty in landing, which being observed by an old man and a youth, they appeared solicitous to render the strangers any assistance, and ran and fetched some fire to warm them.



them. As it rained hard, the old man beckoned two of the officers to a cave, which he entered himself, and invited them to follow; but his motives being suspected, though probably without reason, they declined his invitation. He afterwards, however, shewed his friendly attention, and in a short time, when the governor came to the same spot, he entertained him with a dance and a song. Several presents were made this sociable savage, which he received with abundant satisfaction; but he soon found means to steal a spade, and was caught in the fact. The governor, thinking it necessary to evince his displeasure, pushed him away in seeming anger, and pointed to the spade as the cause. This at once destroyed their harmony. The old man instantly seized a spear, and advancing to the governor, seemed determined to strike; but seeing his threats occasioned no alarm, he perhaps reflected on his temerity, and desisted from the attempt. His courage, however, was eminently conspicuous; for, when he meditated the assault, the governor was not alone. Indeed, from several occurrences, the natives of this coast do not appear deficient in natural bravery. Next day the old man repeated his visit, in company with several of his countrymen; but, to convince him of his fault, he was little noticed, while his companions were presented with various articles agreeable to them.

Having thus gained some partial knowledge of the country and inhabitants, the governor returned to the settlement by sea, though it was his intention to have proceeded by land, had not the incessant rains rendered this unpleasant.



On the 10th of March, M. de la Peyrouse left Botany Bay. He had previously forwarded letters to Governor Phillip, to be delivered to the French ambassador at the English court. Both parties were too busy to have much intercourse; but some friendly visits were paid the French, who behaved with their usual politeness and hospitality. A few of the convicts found means to present themselves to the French commodore, and requested admission into his ships; but with a due sense of honour, he rejected their suit. While these vessels lay at Botany Bay, they lost Father le Receveur, who was engaged as naturalist on board the *Astrolabe*. He had received some wounds in the unfortunate affray, in which the captain of that ship was killed, which afterwards proved his death. A slight monumental inscription was put up to his memory, which the natives soon destroyed; but Governor Phillip caused the same words to be engraven on copper, and affixed to a neighbouring tree. It seems that M. de la Peyrouse had paid a similar tribute of respect to the memory of Captain Clerke at the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Kamtschatka. It is with pleasure we record these instances of generous philanthropy between rival nations. Would they were more frequent!

On the 19th of March, Lieutenant Ball, in the *Supply*, arrived from Norfolk Island, which the detachment had reached on the 29th of February; but were five days before they could find a proper landing place for the stores and provisions. This island being environed by rocks, it is difficult even for a man to get on shore. However, at last they found a proper station, and the command-



ant wrote a very favourable account of the appearance of his new territory.

Norfolk Island is about seven leagues in circumference, and is evidently of volcanic origin. Of the crater there are still some traces on the summit of a small mountain, near the centre of the island, which obtained the name of Mount Pitt. Its whole extent is covered with the noblest pines in the world, and the richness of the soil is almost beyond belief. Grain and garden seeds vegetated most luxuriantly, except such as had been injured by carriage or the weevil.

This island is extremely well watered, and near Mount Pitt, a strong and copious stream takes its rise, which is capable of turning mills. The climate is most delightful and salubrious, and the winter is so mild, that vegetation receives no check from it, but one crop succeeds another. Verdure is perpetual; but not a blade of grass was to be seen. The animals, however, thrived very well on the leaves of plants, trees, and shrubs.

The trees were so bound together by supple-jack, that it was difficult to penetrate them: nevertheless the commandant and his little party soon cleared a small spot, where the necessary buildings were erected, and esculent plants sown. Barley and wheat, as far as the soil had been cleared, prospered beyond description; but the seed of the latter having been injured, a deficiency in quantity was the natural consequence. At this period, however, it is probable, that every inconvenience of that kind is done away, and that the natural fertility of the soil is not impeded by accidental causes.



Fish and turtle abound on the coast; and the woods are peopled by innumerable tribes of birds of the most beautiful plumage. Guinea-fowls, generally white, are plentiful and tame. The principal esculent vegetables are the cabbage palm, the wild plantain, the fern tree, and a kind of wild spinach.

But the most valuable productions, by far, are the pines and the flax plant. The pines arrive at a magnitude unusual in any other part of the world: some of them are one hundred and sixty, or even one hundred and eighty feet in height, and nine or ten feet in diameter, at the bottom of the trunk. They frequently rise to eighty feet without a branch; and the wood is said to be of the best quality, and adapted for masts or spars. The turpentine obtained from them is remarkable for its purity and whiteness.

The flax plant is still more extraordinary. Its leaves resemble flags, and of them, with very little preparation, cordage and apparel may be made. This valuable plant is perennial, and has a bulbous root. It is very common in New Zealand as well as in Norfolk Island, and has been particularly described in Captain Cook's Voyages.

One disadvantage, however, attends Norfolk Island, which is the want of a good landing place. A midshipman and four men were unfortunately lost in the surf, soon after Lieutenant King arrived at this spot; but it is probable that subsequent examinations of the coast have brought to light a better spot to land at than what was first discovered and used.

Rats are the only quadrupeds found here; and from these and the ants, some damage to the different crops was reasonably apprehended; but on  
the



the whole this island promises to be an acquisition of some consequence.

In his passage to Norfolk Island, Lieutenant Ball discovered an uninhabited island in latitude 31 deg. 36 min. south, which he named after Lord Howe. On examination, the shores were found to abound in turtle, but to furnish no good anchorage. Part of this new discovery rises to a great height, and may be seen at a vast distance.

To facilitate the cultivation of Norfolk Island, a farther detachment was sent out from Port Jackson, consisting of an officer and eight marines, twenty male, and ten female, convicts. But from this digression we must return to the settlement at Sydney Cove.

During the month of March, some of the transports were unloaded, and discharged; and the rest were of course detained, till the store houses were completed to receive the cargoes.

On the 15th of April, the governor set out on another excursion, into the country, attended by several officers and a party of marines. They landed at Shell Cove, near the northern entrance of the harbour. Proceeding in this direction, they arrived at a large lake, surrounded by morasses. On this lake they observed a black swan, which, though proverbially rare in other countries, is not uncommon here. It is a very beautiful species: the wings are edged with white, and the bill is tinged with red.

So many swamps and bogs impeded their progress in this quarter, that it was three days before they got to firm ground. Almost all the morasses are occasioned by the overflowing of the springs; and nothing more fully evinces the improvements that civilization and agriculture introduce,



than the contemplation of such scenes, where the labour and ingenuity of man have never been exerted to reclaim the soil. In process of time, there is no doubt, that corn may wave and cattle feed, where at first it was scarcely possible for man to penetrate.

Behind these low marshy grounds, they came to rocks and barren tracks. The hills, however, were covered with flowering shrubs; and at the distance of fifteen miles from the sea coast, they had an enchanting view of the mountains in the interior. The various ridges of these obtained the appellations of Carmarthen, Landstown, and Richmond Hills. It appeared probable, that a considerable stream flowed between these mountains; but the stock of provisions being spent, the governor returned without farther examination.

The governor made another tour of the country soon after, landing in a different part of the harbour. At first they had open country; but in a short time arrived at thickets, which rendered their passage, in that direction, impracticable. They were now obliged to keep close to the banks of a small creek, by which means they passed the cover, and for the three succeeding days pursued a westward course. The country was delightfully fine, for the most part champaign, or rising into gentle eminences, which had a very elegant and picturesque appearance. The trees grow at considerable intervals, and were entirely free from underwood.

On the 5th day they reached the top of an ascent, from which they had a prospect of Carmarthen and Landstown Hills. This landscape was so beautiful, that the governor called it Bellevue. Being still, as they conjectured, about thirty miles



miles from the mountains, which they purposed to reach, and being furnished with no more than six days provisions, it was again found necessary to return.

They had now experienced the difficulty of making any distant excursions in this country. Deep ravines, and other unexpected obstacles, frequently diverted them from their course, and it was found impossible to ascertain what time might be required in passing a certain track. The present excursion had taken up five days, and, in a direct line, it was supposed they were not more than thirty miles from the coast. They were able, however, to return in a day and a half, from having marked the trees as they passed, and pursuing the same path.

Prepossessed with a belief, that the knowledge of the country would well repay them for farther attempts at exploring it, another expedition was projected, in which it was determined, if possible, to reach Landdown Hills, where they thought it probable they might fall in with a river of such magnitude as would facilitate their communication with the inland parts; but the indifferent health of the governor, who had been injured by sleeping on the wet ground, delayed the prosecution of the journey.

The country last explored, appeared so well calculated for cultivation, that it was resolved to send a detachment to settle there as soon as circumstances would permit. But though the soil was naturally so fertile, it was matter of astonishment, how the natives could procure subsistence, as they were ignorant of the means of deriving any advantages from local situations, however propitious. On the coast, indeed, they prin-



cipally subsist on fish; but in the interior parts, the English, with the assistance of firearms, could scarcely procure game for more than half their necessary support. Yet the appearance of temporary huts, proved beyond a doubt, that these parts were frequented by the natives. Near one of the huts the bones of a kangaroo were discovered, and a piece of a root, resembling that of the fern tree, was picked up, which seemed as if it had been recently chewed. None of the inhabitants, however, were seen in these excursions; they either fled the approach of the strangers, or concealed themselves.

Indeed it is likely, that the natives are few in number, in the inland places; and exiled from the society on the coasts: for it can scarcely be a matter of choice, to fix their habitations where the supplies of life are so few and precarious.

The huts were constructed of single pieces of bark, about eleven feet long, and from four to six broad, bent in the middle, and set up so as to form an acute angle. These may perhaps afford shelter from the rain, or concealment from the beasts for which they lie in wait. The bark of many trees appeared deeply cut, to facilitate climbing, and in several of them were holes, which had been originally formed by some animal, and enlarged by the natives. The kangaroo, the opossum, and the squirrel, take refuge in these places, and the natives surprise them in their retreats.

The remains of fires were visible in several places; but no bones of fish near them, on which the natives had fed. How they subsist, therefore, must be left to future discovery. Kangaroos were frequently seen, but they were very shy, and difficult to be shot. Yet these animals were  
more



more numerous near the encampment than in any other place.

This singular animal resembles the jerboa, in its progressive motion; but the pouch of the female connects it with the opossum genus. The different specimens brought to England, vary much in size. One has been shot that weighed one hundred and forty pounds. The longest measured eight feet five inches from the tip of the nose to the extremity of the tail. The greatest circumference is round the bottom of the belly and hips, the upper parts gradually tapering. The fore legs measured nineteen inches; the hind ones three feet seven inches. The tail was two feet and three quarters, pretty thick towards the rump, and tapering downwards. The ears, for the most part, stand erect, and the head somewhat resembles that of a fawn. The fore legs are furnished with five toes, armed with claws, but being so much shorter than the hind legs, are of no use in walking, but are merely employed in digging holes, and bringing food to the mouth. The hinder legs are very strong; and when sitting, the animal rests on them, the rump being elevated some inches from the ground. The hind toes are only three in number, the middlemost of which is very long. The tail is generally carried erect; and the general colour of the skin is a pale brown inclining to ash.

There is reason to believe, that this animal is peculiar to New Holland, and being the largest of its quadrupeds, hitherto discovered, a more particular description of it is necessary, than of the other parts of animated nature.

From the very conformation of the kangaroo, it appears, that its progressive motion can only be by



by leaps, which have been known to exceed twenty feet at once, and this so often repeated, as almost to distance a fleet greyhound. It is capable of bounding over obstacles ten feet high, with the greatest ease; and when overtaken by a dog, its strength is so great, and its resolution so firm, that it generally releases itself. In encounters of this kind, it uses its tail with great force. It is therefore generally shot by Europeans; but the natives have the art of catching it. It seems to be gregarious, feeding in flocks of twenty or thirty; and one is observed to be always stationed on the watch, at some distance, when the rest are thus employed.

Young kangaroos have been taken, which in a few days grew very tame, but they seldom lived long; probably from an ignorance in supplying them with their proper food.

In the last-mentioned excursion, the dung of a graminivorous animal was seen, which, it was supposed, could not be less than a horse; but no traces of the animal itself were perceived. It is not probable, however, that this could not belong to the kangaroo, unless it arrives at a size beyond what has hitherto been observed.

Though the natives of New Holland have made so little progress in the useful arts, as not to attempt to clothe themselves, they are not without some ideas of sculpture. In every excursion Governor Phillip made, he saw figures of men, animals, and weapons, engraved on the rocks with characteristic rudeness. On the top of one of the hills, the figure of a man in a dancing attitude was not badly expressed. That the imitative arts should precede those of utility, is a phenomenon in the history of man; but the progress



progress of the human mind is sometimes so desultory, as to set theory at defiance.

It was seldom found, that they could proceed a quarter of a mile, without seeing trees that had been on fire. As violent thunder storms are not unfrequent, some of these may have been fired by the lightning; but it is certain, that the natives never are at the trouble of extinguishing a fire they have once kindled, so that it either communicates its flames to the tree, or accidentally goes out.

On his return from this expedition, the governor had the mortification to find, that five ewes and a lamb had been killed very near the camp, in the middle of the day. This accident, it was conjectured, arose from the dogs of the natives; but the real cause was never known. The loss, however, was serious, as it could not be soon replaced.

In the beginning of May, three of the transports which had been cleared, sailed for China; and the Supply was sent out to Lord Howe's Island for turtle, in hopes of checking the scurvy, which made a rapid progress among the settlers.

By this time, with great labour and assiduity, eight or ten acres had been cleared, and were sown with barley and wheat. Such was the first agricultural attempt, in a country where, we are now told, volunteer settlers are likely to make a competent fortune in a few years, by the tillage of the ground alone.

On the 25th of May, the Supply returned, but had failed in procuring any turtle. She had met with squally weather, and had sustained some damage, but not of great importance.

About



About this time, one of the convicts, who had strayed to some distance in search of vegetables, returned dangerously wounded. He reported that one of his associates, who had gone out on the same errand, had been wounded in the head, and carried off. A shirt and hat, both pierced with spears, were afterwards found in one of the huts of the natives; but no farther intelligence could be procured. It is too probable that the convicts had been the original aggressors, though this was strenuously denied by the person who made his escape.

On the 30th of May, two men employed in collecting rushes for thatching, were found dead. One of them had four spears in his body: the other was without any external marks of violence. These victims, of their own indiscretion, had been seen with a canoe, which they had taken from one of the fishing stations. Such misfortunes were feelingly lamented by the governor, as they frustrated his plan of conciliating the affections of the natives, and establishing a friendly intercourse with them.

The tools which the rush cutters used being carried away, the governor thought they might lead to some discovery. He therefore went out with a small party, and landed at the spot where the men were killed; but after traversing the country for twenty miles, he arrived at Botany Bay, without so much as procuring a sight of any of the natives. Here, however, they perceived about twenty canoes engaged in fishing; and when the fires were made and preparations set about for encamping during the night, it was supposed that some of the people would have joined them; but none appeared. Next morning, though fifty canoes



noes were drawn up on the beach, not an individual person was to be seen.

The governor had now resolved to return; but as he was proceeding along the sea-coast, he fell in with a numerous party of the inhabitants, near the mouth of a cave, and was within ten yards of them before they were perceived. The natives were armed, and one of them advancing, seemed to caution the English to retire; but when Governor Phillip stepped forward to meet him alone and without weapons, he assumed a friendly confidence.

In a few minutes they were surrounded by more than two hundred men; but no signs of treachery were perceived in this interview, nor any wish to take advantage of the superiority of numbers. The moment friendship was offered, they laid down their weapons and joined the party in the most amicable manner. Numbers of women and children were afterwards brought down by the men, and accepted such presents as were given them.

Among these people nothing was observed that could point them out as being concerned in the murder and robbery of the ruff cutters: and the governor had a fresh proof of the propriety of treating them with a proper degree of confidence. For had he hesitated a moment in shewing a friendly disposition, a rencounter must have ensued, and the consequences might have been fatal.

Near this place they saw a superior stream of water to any hitherto discovered.

An old man, seeing the English purposed to advance, made signs that he might be allowed to go before them. Having ascended a hill he called



ed out, holding up both his hands, the usual expression of amity, to signify to his countrymen in the next cove, that friends were coming. The governor, however, did not descend to that cove, where he saw about forty men assembled. The cause of such numbers being collected was unknown; for it was calculated that they constituted a very considerable portion of the inhabitants of a great extent of coast.

In crossing the hills in their way to Port Jackson, smoke was seen on the top of Landsdown Hills, a proof that the country is inhabited so far back, which was calculated to be fifty miles from the sea.

On a farther investigation of the fate of the rush cutters, there appeared reason to suppose that one of the natives had been murdered and several wounded before the catastrophe took place. This belief induced the governor to offer emancipation to any convict who should discover the aggressors; but nothing farther transpired.

It has been mentioned that several of the sheep were destroyed; and they now experienced a heavier loss in two bulls and four cows straying into the woods; where they were traced to some distance, but never recovered.

His majesty's birth day was kept with due festivity, and all were indulged with a remission from labour. At sun rise the ships of war fired a royal salute, and at noon the marines, being drawn up, saluted with three vollies. At sun-set the same honours were repeated by the ships, and bonfires threw a lustre on the night. That every person might participate in the general joy, the four convicts, who had been banished to a small island in the centre of the harbour, received



received a full pardon; and it is probable there was not a heavy heart among them in this distant part of his majesty's dominions.

On the 22d of June, they felt a slight shock of an earthquake, which lasted only two or three seconds. The governor at first took it for the report of guns fired at a great distance; but from the testimony of all, the real cause was soon discovered.

Two days after, a convict, who had been guilty of a robbery, absconded; but soon after returned, as he found it impossible to subsist in the woods. He said that one of the natives gave him a fish, and made signs for him to go away; that afterwards he fell in with a party of the natives who would have roasted him; but that he made his escape. He actually pretended to have seen a human body lying on the fire; but little credit ought to be given to such an authority.

With more semblance of truth, he reported that the inhabitants were in great distress for food, and that he had seen four of them apparently perishing of hunger, who made signs for something to eat. This man was tried for his offence, pleaded guilty, and suffered with another criminal.

The settlers had now been long enough here to ascertain, that though the necessity of subsisting so long on salt provisions, and their exposed situation, had brought on the scurvy, yet that the climate in itself was mild and salubrious. Heavy rains had indeed fallen about the changes of the moon in the winter months; but there had been no season that could be called rainy. Violent storms of thunder and lightning sometimes happened; but as the country begins to be cleared,



these will be less frequent, and the general healthiness of the place will be increased.

The variation of the thermometer in the shade, frequently amounted to 33 deg. between eight in the morning and two in the afternoon. It sometimes stood at upwards of 80.

An account of the state of the colonists health being delivered in, on the last day of June, by the surgeon, it was found that eight marines, and eighty-one convicts and children, had died from the time of embarkation; that thirty-six of the military were under medical treatment, and sixty-six of the convicts. He farther stated, that fifty-two convicts were unfit for labour, from old age or infirmities. Many of the sick, however, were in a convalescent state.

When they first landed, as may be well supposed, the chief care of the governor was to erect temporary accommodations on the spot that presented itself as freest from impediments. No regularity could be expected; but the idea of convenience united to order, was soon at liberty to expand; and by degrees large spaces were opened, lines marked, and a plan drawn out for future operations.

The lines of streets and public buildings were now traced, in such a situation as to admit of a free circulation of air, the convenience of water, and other comforts which are requisite in a permanent settlement.

The first huts, of course, were of perishable materials, being chiefly constructed of the soft wood of the cabbage palm, or even of posts, wattled and plaistered. Barracks and huts were afterwards formed of more durable materials. Stone buildings might easily have been raised; but the  
want



want of lime to make mortar was a great hinderance. They found stone of three different kinds: one was equal to that of Portland, a second sort was sand or fire-stone, and the third had a mixture of iron.

No chalk or lime could be found. A small building for the governor was cemented with oyster shells burnt; but there were too few to answer any general purpose. Good clay for bricks is produced near Sydney Cove, and has been successfully used for that purpose. The wood appears not ill adapted for building: it is heavy indeed, but fine-grained, and free from knots.

Sydney Cove lies open to the north-east, and extends in a south-west direction for near one thousand yards, gradually decreasing from the width of one thousand four hundred feet, till it terminates in a point, where it receives a small stream of fresh water. The anchorage extends a considerable way up the Cove, and is secure from all winds. Ships can lie almost close to the shore; nor are there any rocks or shallows to render the navigation dangerous. Thus the situation on the whole is as eligible as can be desired; and shews the discernment of the governor in making the selection.

Metals of various kinds appear to abound in the vicinity of the settlement; but the want of some scientific person, to describe and arrange the natural productions, both animate and inanimate, was sensibly felt at first. A convict, who had worked in the lead mines, positively affirmed, that the ground which they had been clearing, contained a large quantity of that ore; and copper was supposed to lie under some rocks, which had been blown up in sinking a cellar.



Where they dug for water, in some places they found a substance which was taken for a metal, but after submitting it to the long-continued action of fire, it was suspected to be black lead. The pigment, called Spanish brown, is found in great abundance, and the white clay with which the natives ornament themselves, in the opinion of the Abbé Receveur might be formed, with some previous care, into porcelain.

Sydney Cove seems to possess every local advantage that can arise from a fine climate, a soil naturally good, and an exception from whatever can shorten the period of life, or lessen its pleasures. All the plants and fruits that had been brought from Brasil and the Cape, without damage, flourished as in their native beds. European vegetables likewise arrive at great perfection. The vine, it is probable, with due culture, may in time produce the choicest juice, and in future ages it may perhaps be reckoned a luxury at the tables of European opulence.

The rank grass under the trees, had a deleterious effect on the sheep that were suffered to graze on it; but such as were kept close to their pens and fed there, were preserved. Hogs and poultry not only thrive, but multiply very fast; and there is no reason to apprehend but every species of domestic animals will prosper and become productive.

When matters were settled in the immediate vicinity of Sydney Cove, the governor sent a small detachment to cultivate the ground at the upper end of Port Jackson, which in one of his excursions he had found so well adapted for that purpose. This spot has obtained the appellation of Rose Hill.

After



After various unimportant transactions, though uniformly beneficial to the interests of the infant colony, the natives who had always been treated with the greatest indulgence, as far as the authority of the governor could prevail, but whose entire confidence it was found impossible to gain, made an attempt to wrest by force, what certainly did not belong to them. On the 9th of July, a fishing party of the English having drawn the seine, the natives violently seized the greatest part of the fish, while a more numerous body of them stood with their spears ready poised. The cockswain very prudently permitted them to satisfy themselves, and thus hostilities were prevented. Orders had been given to allow the natives a share of whatever might be caught when they were present, and till this time they had been apparently well satisfied with what had been voluntarily given them. Hard necessity and the resentment they felt for the encroachments made on their fishing station, might drive them to this desperate act. No notice was taken of the aggression; but a stronger force in future was always sent with the boat, which tended to prevent a repetition of the injury.

About the middle of July, the governor went out with a small party to examine the land between Port Jackson and Broken Bay. In this quarter, many hundreds of acres were free from trees, and in a state favourable to cultivation. Proceeding as far as Pitt Water, he saw several of the natives, but none of them joined him. When the party, however, returned to the boats, they found about sixty men, women, and children assembled there. In this society some hours were spent in a peaceful and amicable manner;



but though the natives did not appear uneasy in the company of the English, they always manifested satisfaction when they were about to leave them. At this time many of the women were employed in fishing, a service they commonly perform. Two of these were observed to be scarred or tatooed on the shoulder like the men; a circumstance not hitherto observed in any other females on this coast.

While the governor and his party were out on their excursion, the sailors, who waited to guard the boats, observed two bodies of the natives, consisting of about one hundred men each, who drew up on opposite sides, and at first seemed to be amusing themselves with their spears, which they hurled at each other by way of exercise, using their shields as a defence. In a short time, however, matters assumed a more serious aspect, and the women were seen running up and down in great distress, and shrieking violently. After all, it did not appear that any of the men were killed; and it is likely the fears of the females might misinterpret the intention of the exercise in which the men were engaged.

Soon after his return, Governor Phillip set out again to explore the coast towards Botany Bay. In this journey, few of the inhabitants were seen, but many proofs were observed of the distresses they laboured under from a scarcity of food. In the summer season they shewed a dainty taste in fish, rejecting some kinds with disdain; but now a young whale, which had been driven on the coast, had been greedily devoured by them. They barely scorch the outside of their fish before they eat it; and they prepare the fern root in a similar manner.

From



From various observations, it appears, that the natives frequently change their situation; but it has not been perceived that they perform periodical migrations either in summer or winter. Intent solely on procuring the means of subsistence, a task more than sufficient, at times, to employ all their ingenuity and exertion, they seem to have no local attachments, except when fish and food may be had in the greatest abundance and with the greatest ease.

The few specimens of arts they possess, are generally such, as the necessity of their situations have forced upon them. Their fishing tackle is not without marks of ingenuity. The twine of which their nets is made, appears to be composed of the fibres of the flax plant, with very little preparation; but twisted so as to render it firm and strong. The meshes of these nets consist of large loops, very artificially inserted into each other, but without any knots. It has been said, that they are formed on the very same principle as the ground of point lace, except that there is only one turn of the twine, instead of two in every loop. Their fish-hooks, canoes, and other implements, are not ill adapted to their respective destinations.

These people have few ornaments, except what are impressed on the body itself, or laid on by way of paint. The men keep their beards short, as is supposed, by singeing them. They sometimes hang the teeth of dogs and of other animals in their hair, and even the claws of lobsters.

Though destitute of clothes, they are by no means insensible to the cold, and have a great dislike to rain. During a shower, they have been observed to cover their heads with bark,  
and



and to shiver extremely. The governor, from these circumstances, was led to think, that clothes would be very acceptable to them, should they ever be brought to terms of social intercourse with the English.

From the habitual shyness of the natives, Governor Phillip found it difficult to acquire any perfect knowledge of their institutions and customs. It appears they burn their dead; for, on opening a kind of rude grave, a jaw bone was found unconsumed; and on a farther investigation of these barrows, ashes were generally seen. From the manner in which these ashes were deposited, it appeared that the body must have been laid lengthways, and only raised sufficiently to allow fire to be put under it. Fern is usually spread on the surface, and pressed down by a few stones.

The New Hollanders seem to practise the virtue of honesty to the full, in their intercourse with each other. They leave their spears, implements, and canoes on the beach with the most unsuspecting confidence; a proof that they have not been used to be defrauded. Some of the convicts, however, early taught them that they had now another kind of people to deal with. These frequently carried off articles belonging to the natives, in defiance of the strict regulations that were established; and to their conduct, the reserve of the inhabitants may reasonably be ascribed. It is likewise probable, that they soon learned to distinguish these free-booters by their blue and yellow jackets, as they did the soldiers by their red clothes; and on fragglers of the former description, they occasionally wrecked their vengeance.



No attempt, however, was made to fire the grass or corn, which must have brought down destruction on them. For though policy and humanity recommended the mildest conduct towards the natives, and a degree of forgiveness for slight offences; an attempt of this kind was of too serious a nature to have been overlooked, and would have justified the severest measures. Let us hope, however, that the natives, of this coast, will live in peace and amity with our countrymen, and in the revolution of years, be brought to civilization and refinement, by the generous exertions and examples of Britons. Let us hope too, that the outcasts of society among ourselves, may be induced, by their conduct in a place where they are removed from the usual temptations, to endeavour to redeem their character, and regain their forfeited rights.

From the most recent accounts received from this quarter, it appears that the settlers are rapidly advancing in agriculture and rearing of cattle, and that the colony promises not only to repay the original expence and risk, but to be ultimately beneficial and advantageous to the mother country.

From a piece of clay imported from Sydney Cove, the ingenious Mr. Wedgewood caused a medallion to be modelled, representing Hope, encouraging Art and Labour, under the influence of Peace, to pursue the means of giving security and happiness to the infant settlement. The following exquisitely beautiful verses, in allusion to this medallion, were written by Dr. Darwin, and we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of copying them.



## VISIT OF HOPE TO SYDNEY COVE.

Where Sydney Cove her lucid bosom swells,  
 Courts her young navies, and the storm repels,  
 High on a rock, amid the troubled air  
 HOPE stood sublime, and wav'd her golden hair;  
 Calm'd with her rosy smile the tossing deep,  
 And with sweet accents charm'd the winds to sleep;  
 To each wild plain she stretch'd her snowy hand;  
 High-waving wood, and sea-encircled strand.  
 "Hear me," she cried, "ye rising realms! record  
 "Times opening scenes, and Truths unerring word.—  
 "There shall broad streets their stately walls extend,  
 "The circus widen, and the crescent bend;  
 "There ray'd from cities o'er the cultur'd land,  
 "Shall bright canals, and solid roads expand.—  
 "There the proud arch, Colossus-like, bestride  
 "Yon glittering streams, and bound the chafing tide;  
 "Embellish'd villas crown the landscape scene,  
 "Farms wave with gold, and orchards blush between.—  
 "There shall tall spires and dome-capt towers ascend,  
 "And piers and quays their massy structures blend;  
 "While with each breeze approaching vessels glide,  
 "And northern treasures dance on every tide!"

Here ceased the nymph—tumultuous echoes roar,  
 And Joy's loud voice was heard from shore to shore—  
 Her graceful steps descending press'd the plain,  
 And PEACE, and ART, and LABOUR, join'd her train.

VOYAGE



VOYAGE AND DISCOVERIES  
OF  
*LIEUT. SHORTLAND,*  
BETWEEN  
PORT JACKSON AND BATAVIA.

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**L**IEUTENANT John Shortland, of the navy, having been appointed agent of the transports, destined to carry over the first settlers to New South Wales, after discharging his duty in that capacity, was intrusted with dispatches for government; and the *Alexander*, *Friendship*, *Prince of Wales*, and *Borrowdale*, being cleared about the beginning of July, were put under his care and conduct, on their return home.

As the season was thought to be too far advanced for them to attempt the southern course by Van Diemen's Land, and the passage by Cape Horn was deemed ineligible; it was, at last, unanimously agreed, that they should proceed to the northward, either through Endeavour Straights, or round New Guinea.

Unfortunately, these ships were ill adapted to encounter the difficulties which were to be expected in every course, during so long a voyage: the complement of men was very short; they had no surgeon; and were totally unprovided  
with



with such articles as had been found essential to the preservation of health in such tedious expeditions. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, if in exploring an unknown passage, where they had no opportunity of obtaining a supply of salutary refreshments, the scurvy made dreadful havock among the men.

Mr. Shortland, in the *Alexander* transport, left Port Jackson on the 14th of July, and directing his course to the eastward, intended to touch at Lord Howe's Island, where a place of rendezvous was to have been fixed, in case of separation. This step, indeed, ought to have been previously taken; but owing to hurry, it was neglected till too late. The *Alexander* was scarcely ready to sail, when the signal was given for the other transports to put to sea; and the swell setting in towards the shore, they were obliged, for two days, to carry a press of sail, to keep the ships from being wrecked on the coast.

On the morning of the 16th, the rocks off the entrance of Port Stephens were distant about three leagues; but as that place had not been surveyed, Mr. Shortland was still induced to keep the sea, amidst a combination of unfavourable circumstances. That evening he lost sight of the *Prince of Wales* and *Borrowdale*, and they never more rejoined, having taken a different course.

Supposing, however, they might proceed to Lord Howe's Island, Mr. Shortland determined to touch there, and wait for them a day or two. With this view he steered a direct course for that island; but the wind proving most unfavourable for his design, he was obliged to abandon it, and to alter his course, in company with the *Friendship*.



On the 21st of July, the master of the *Friendship* having gone on board the *Alexander*, Carteret's Harbour, in New Ireland, was fixed as the place of rendezvous. Same day they descried a small island, in latitude 28 deg. 10 min. south, longitude 159 deg. 50 min. east, which was named Middleton's Island. It appeared to be about six or seven leagues in length, the land very high in general, and had a remarkable peak. It is probable, this island is of considerable extent.

By an accurate observation of the sun and moon on the 24th, they found the effect of a current so strong as to set the ship two degrees of longitude to the eastward of the dead reckoning. From this it seems that Middleton's island should be placed farther to the east.

On the 27th and 28th, many land birds were in sight, and according to the reckoning and observation, they must have been off part of the coast of New Caledonia, though they did not discern land. On the 31st, however, land was seen, distant about five leagues, which Mr. Shortland at first conjectured was Egmont Island; but it proved he was mistaken. He now pursued a west course, in which direction the land trended; and sailing along the coast, about six or seven leagues, found it formed into an island by two points, one of which was named Cape Sydney, the other Cape Phillip. In the evening, before it grew dark, land was fortunately discovered directly in the ship's course. This occasioned them to bring to for the night. In the morning they had a view of a very mountainous coast, which sufficiently convinced them that this could not be Egmont Island, though Mr. Shortland thinks it might join it.



Bearing away along the shore, at five or six leagues distance, they came to a point, which was named Cape Henflow, while another, to the west, was called Cape Hunter. Between these two points, the mountains seem to reach the clouds. This day the latitude was 9 deg. 58 min. south, and longitude 160 deg. 21 min. east.

More land still opened as they advanced, of a mountainous aspect, and the most distant part in sight was called Cape Marsh. In the evening the ships lay to for the night, the weather being squally, with violent thunder and rain.

In the morning of August 2d, the sky was hazy, which intercepted the view of land; but they saw many flying fish. Before noon it cleared up, when Lieutenant Shortland continued to steer north-west, to ascertain if he had reached the utmost extent of land. Early next morning they fell in with it again. At first sight it appeared like several islands, and an attempt was made to pass between them to the north, but it was soon discovered that there was no disjunctive of parts. This spot was called Nine Hummock Bay, from its appearance.

Proceeding to the south-west, they came in sight of two points, which were named Cape Nepean and Cape Pitt. On the 4th, it was imagined they had passed the land, but again they were deceived, and from this circumstance a cape, which they had just descried, was called Cape Deception.

At day light on the 5th, land was again discovered, and not knowing how far it might trend to the north-west, Mr. Shortland now stood to the south. The latitude was now found to be 8 deg. 44 min. south, longitude 157 deg. 30 min. east.



Early next morning they made sail again to the north-west, and soon discerned a rock, which had exactly the appearance of a ship under sail. So strongly were the people on board the *Alexander* prepossessed with this imagination, that the private signal was made, under an idea that it might be either one of the French ships, or one of the transports which had parted company off the coast of New Holland. Nor was the mistake detected till they approached within a league of the spot.

Soon after, some canoes came close up to the ship, without any appearance of fear. Ropes being thrown over the stern, the Indians suffered themselves to be towed along, and in this situation, exchanged a kind of bone rings, which they wore on their arms, for nails, beads, and other trifles; but iron was manifestly preferred. The natives dealt very fairly, and shewed no propensity to steal. They would not, however, suffer themselves to be drawn along-side; but at the same time, seemed desirous that the English should anchor on the coast, and by way of inducement, held up the rind of an orange or lemon, and the plumage of fowls and other articles, which they signified might be had on shore. They also presented the lieutenant with a fruit, which he conceived to be the bread-fruit.

Of the leaves of the plantains, these people made boxes, or small cases, in which they carried their curiosities. At noon, the English came to a point of land, which was named Cape Satisfaction, and the rock, which had been mistaken for a ship, obtained the appellation of the Eddystone. As the land now began to trend northward, they were in hopes of finding a passage.



The natives called the island, from whence they came, Simboo, a word which they frequently repeated. These men were remarkably stout and well built, from which, it is probable, that they have plenty of food. Their canoes, which contained from six to fourteen men, seemed to be well constructed, and carved with various figures, stained or painted red. In short, their vessels were built on the same principle as those of Otaheite.

Their ornaments were rings of white bone on the wrist, and a shell, with a feather, tied on the head. They were not willing to part with any of their lances. After accompanying the ships as far as they thought proper, they left them, and returned to the shore.

Lieutenant Shortland regretted that he could not accept their invitation to land, where, doubtless, refreshments might have been procured; but the length and uncertainty of his voyage forbade the least delay.

After lying to in the night, the ships made sail early in the morning of the 7th, and in a short time came in sight of several small islands, of a moderate height, and apparently fertile, which were named the Treasury Isles.

The ships had now run for several degrees in sight of land; and as proceeding farther in the same direction might have entangled them with New Guinea, they determined to try a passage which then lay before them; and were fortunate enough to succeed, though with difficulty and danger. This passage obtained the name of Shortland's Straights, and, it is probable, the same as M. Bougainville sailed through in 1768. A small difference in the longitude is the only reason



reason to doubt the identity; but this might arise from an imperfect observation.

Lieutenant Shortland now congratulated himself on having cleared this large track of land, which he had the greatest reason to suppose was united the whole way, from where he first fell in with it. If any other passages really exist, he thinks they must be between Cape Phillip and Cape Henslow; or between Capes Marth and Pitt. To ascertain this point will be the business of future navigators. To the whole tract of land, the name of New Georgia was given.

On the western side of Shortland's Straights the land continued to be very high, and extended as far as the eye could reach. In the afternoon of the 9th, they descried two islands, but various causes prevented them from giving them any examination. It was now determined to sail round New Ireland, and they directed their course accordingly.

Till this period the voyage had been enlivened by discovery, though their progress had been retarded; but now that dreadful scourge of mariners, the scurvy, broke out with such virulence, and increased to such a degree, from the want of proper remedies, that it was found necessary, in the sequel, to sacrifice one of the ships, and the united crews were soon reduced to such a state of weakness as to baffle all description.

On the 13th of August, five seamen of the *Alexander* were already so much affected with the scurvy, that they could not, without difficulty, eat even flour or rice. The weather was now very variable, and, it is probable, they were not far from land. On the 16th it was actually descried, and the same day they passed the line.



Notwithstanding every precaution which their situation would permit them to use, the scurvy continued to make new inroads among the crew of the *Alexander*; nor was any thing found effectual to counteract its malignity.

On the 10th of September, they were in sight of land, which, from its situation, must have been one of the Pelew Islands, so justly celebrated for the hospitable reception of Captain Wilson. Unfortunately the history of that voyage had not been published, and Lieutenant Shortland conceived he was got among the New Carolines.

Next day, they sailed between two islands. Many cocoa palms were seen on the shore, and excited an earnest longing among the sick to taste this salutary refreshment. The natives approached in their canoes, and invited the English on shore; and many persons of both sexes swam off to them, holding up bamboos full of water, which they imagined the ships to want.

Mr. Sinclair, the master of the *Alexander*, being engaged in sounding, with the boats ahead, resolved to land amidst a concourse of people, and to endeavour to make them sensible that coconuts, and not water, were wanted. He made an old man, whom he concluded to be a chief, from a bone ornament on his arm, a present of some nails and beads, which were accepted with evident pleasure; and the chief now exerted himself in repressing the insolence of his people, who endeavoured to steal whatever they could lay their hands on. Not more than thirty coconuts were obtained by Mr. Sinclair, and these were green. The natives were armed with lances and a kind of adze, evidently of European manufacture.

In



In return for the present he had received, the chief complimented the master with a mixture of fish, yams, and other articles, the very odour of which made it disagreeable. At first landing, many of the natives repeated the word Englees, and being answered in the affirmative, they shook their heads, and called out Espagnol.

From these circumstances, it is probable, that the English had now fallen in with the people of Artingall, against whom our countrymen had signalized themselves; and if so, their knowledge of the Spaniards must have been posterior to that event. Had the reception of the Antelope's crew been known, Lieutenant Shortland would have presented himself before the beneficent Abba Thulle; and himself and crew, by means of ready refreshments, might have escaped much of their subsequent distress. But their ignorance of the relief at hand, and the danger of landing an enfeebled crew among a numerous people, whose dispositions were not known, made them unwilling to risk the event.

Towards the latter end of September all their ills were exacerbated; and agues and intermittent fevers began to prevail. Some deaths had happened; and few on board the Alexander were free from complaint, or could go through their duty without difficulty and pain. The Friendship had been hitherto more fortunate; but the rapid progress of the scurvy on board that ship made a fatal compensation for the delay of its commencement.

On the 27th of September, the land of Mindanao was seen. In all this sea, a strong current constantly set the ship considerably to the south of his reckoning. On the 3d of October, the  
wind



wind suddenly fell, and the *Alexander* was in the greatest danger of driving with the current on the coast of Sanguir Island. In the evening of the 17th, the *Friendship* actually struck on a reef off the coast of Borneo; but, by the assistance of her consort, was fortunately got off without material damage.

The *Alexander*, by this time, had lost eight of her short complement, and only four men and two boys were fit for duty. The *Friendship* had no more than five men not disabled, and was likewise short of provisions. In this distressing dilemma, the western monsoon being expected to set in, it was indispensably necessary to concentrate their crews. The *Friendship* being the smaller vessel, and most easily cleared, Mr. Walton, her master, consented she should be evacuated and sunk, on condition that he should be allowed half freight of the *Alexander*. This being agreed on, the crew was transferred to the *Alexander*; yet still there was scarcely half the proper complement; nor was it more than was absolutely necessary to work that ship to Batavia.

It was the 29th of October, before the *Alexander* was ready to sail from the coast of Borneo, within a few miles of which she had lain at anchor; and owing to a southerly wind and a strong current, she did not get round the Isle of Pulo Loot till the 5th of November.

Sickness still continued to spread among them, and, at this period, only one man, besides the officers, was able to go aloft. In this situation, four large boats bore down upon the ship, apparently with hostile intentions, and gave them no small degree of alarm. Lieutenant Shortland hoisted English colours when they were about a  
mile



mile distant; and the boats shewed Dutch and Portuguese ensigns. They continued in chace for several hours, during which all the strength that could be raised was used on board the *Alexander*, and the guns were pointed. To try the courage of the pursuers, Mr. Shortland ordered a shot to be fired over them, which fortunately had the desired effect, as they hastily made for the shore.

But though they escaped this impending danger, nothing but their vicinity to Batavia could have saved them all from destruction. On the 17th of November, only one man, besides the officers, was fit for work, and had they been obliged to keep the sea a few days longer, they had no other prospect than of being tossed about at the mercy of the winds and waves.

On the evening of that day, however, they approached Batavia; and fired a gun and made signal for assistance. With infinite difficulty they got into the roads, and were indebted to the Dutch for help in furling their sails, which service the crew was in too reduced a state to be able to perform themselves. Never, perhaps, did any ship arrive in more forlorn circumstances, that had neither suffered from the winds nor waves.

Next morning, after they came to anchor, the Dutch commodore humanely sent off a boat laden with refreshments, and men to assist in refitting the ship for sea. The sick were conveyed to the hospital, where several of them died; and a fresh crew was made up from some English East Indiamen, then lying at Batavia, in which no more than four of the original seamen remained.

On



On the 7th of December, the *Alexander* again put to sea, and the remainder of her voyage being in a track well known, and unmarked by any extraordinary events, does not deserve a detail. At the Cape of Good Hope they found the *Sirius*, Captain Hunter, who had been there six weeks before. Lieutenant Shortland now learned, that the *Prince of Wales* and *Borrowdale* transports, which parted from him on the coast of New Holland, had returned by the southern passage, and had touched at Rio de Janeiro.

After a short stay at the Cape, the *Alexander* again set sail, and arrived off the Isle of Wight on the 28th of May.

The melancholy fate of this ship's crew, will warn future navigators to furnish themselves with antidotes against the malignant poison of the scurvy, and the track Lieutenant Shortland pursued, as it opens a new passage, will be of service to them in another respect. This voyage, indeed, is not unimportant, either to the mariner or the geographer, and ranks Lieutenant Shortland among discoverers.



VOYAGE OF  
*CAPTAIN MARSHALL,*

FROM

PORT JACKSON

TO

*CHINA.*

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**T**HE different tracks which the transports, engaged in the first expedition to New South Wales, pursued in their way home, have furnished and multiplied valuable materials for information and entertainment.

Captain Marshall, in the Scarborough transport, left Port Jackson on the 6th of May, 1788, and proceeded towards China, to lade with teas on account of the East India Company. For some days they had very variable and unpleasant weather. In the afternoon of the 16th, they were close in with the land of Lord Howe's Island; and next morning Captain Marshall sent his chief mate in the boat, to endeavour to procure some turtle; but after the most diligent search, they were unsuccessful. However, they brought off a quantity of fine birds, resembling Guinea fowls, and very fat.

Having



Having taken in such refreshments as the island afforded, they made sail in company with the Charlotte transport, which they found here, and on the 22d came in sight of Norfolk Island, but did not land.

After leaving this island, they proceeded to the north and eastward, and on the 26th descried a small island, which proved to be a barren rock of small magnitude, but covered with birds. A frightful surf surrounded the coast, which rendered it impossible to land. It was named Matthew's Island.

Nothing particular occurred till the 4th of June, when the water appearing coloured, they sounded, and found ground in fifteen fathoms water; and perceived they were in the vicinity of a shoal. Vast numbers of birds of different kinds were seen flying to the westward, from which it was supposed that land lay in that direction. How far this shoal extends was uncertain; no termination could be seen from the mast's head, as far as the eye could reach.

On the morning of the 18th, they saw an island right ahead, about nine miles distant; and soon after several canoes put off towards the ship, but did not venture to come up. This land is low and level, and was named Hopper's Island. It lies almost under the line, in 173 deg. 43 min. east longitude.

Soon after they descried another smaller island, called Henderville's, and presently a third, which was named Woodle's Island. From the latter, five large canoes put off; but when they had approached within a few miles of the ship, they tacked about and returned. The wind blowing off the land, prevented the English from going on



on shore. Large fires were lighted along the coast, and a vast concourse of the natives was seen collected on the beach, many of whom pointed to the ship, as in token of wonder and surprise.

Several canoes appearing to advance from one of these islands, Captain Marshall determined to lie to; and at last two of them came up without the least hesitation. The Indians began to talk, and to make signs for them to bring the ship nearer the land.

To ingratiate himself with his visitors, the captain shewed them some nails and glass, which they seemed very desirous to obtain, but none of them would venture on board. Having received some little presents, they appeared much pleased, and made the captain a return in a kind of beads, and the teeth of animals, which they wore about their necks by way of ornament.

Finding that the captain would not listen to their solicitation of bringing the ship nearer the island, they took their leave, and returned to the shore. It is highly probable, that these islands afford a variety of tropical fruits and refreshments. The natives appeared plump and in good condition; a proof that they are not stinted in the article of food. They are a personable race, of a copper colour, with long black hair, expressive black eyes, and fine teeth. Many of them had their faces painted white.

Their canoes were ingeniously constructed, and capable of holding twenty people. They were furnished with outriggers, by which contrivance they were in little danger of being overset in any weather. They had a large sail, which appeared to be made of raw silk, neatly sewed together;



and in short, managed their canoes with much dexterity, and appeared a lively, sensible people.

Quitting these new discoveries, which, had circumstances permitted, would most likely have repaid the labour of some examination, the captain stood to the northward, and on the 20th saw an island, which appeared low, and almost level with the water. When they got in with the land, it appeared to be a chain of islands, extending more than thirty leagues. As they ran along the coast, several canoes followed the ship, but none would approach. Numbers of the natives assembled on the beach, to gratify their curiosity at the sight of a ship, perhaps the first they had ever seen. At one time, the captain proposed sending a boat on shore, in quest of refreshments; but the crew being much afflicted with the scurvy, the scheme was dropped, as being too dangerous.

The centre of these islands is in 1 deg. 50 min. north latitude, 172 deg. east longitude. They are very low, and had a deep sea round them, with the appearance of some fine harbours.

Seeing no prospect of procuring refreshments from the natives, without risking too much, Captain Marshall made sail, and on the 22d came up to an island, on the coast of which many canoes were sailing; but none of them could be enticed to approach the ship. In running along, six adjoining islands were discovered, extending about fifteen leagues. These obtained the names of Allen's, Gillespy's, Touching's, Clarke's, Smith's, and Scarborough's Islands. They seem to abound with cocoa and cabbage trees.

Next day more land made its appearance, and on the succeeding, they sailed along a chain of islands.



islands. A canoe putting off from a part of the coast, the captain lay to, in hopes the natives would come up; but when they had advanced within one hundred yards of the ship, they put back in apparent fright. These people had skins wrapped round their waists, and their hair was ornamented with shells and beads.

In a short time several canoes went along-side the Charlotte, which was at some distance astern, and some of the natives going on board, made free with every thing they could lay their hands on. They appeared, however, to have some ideas of civilization: all of them had decent coverings round the waist, and necklaces made of beads, to which a cross was suspended in the catholic style.

These were named Lord Mulgrave's Islands. They lie between 5 and 7 deg. north latitude, and 171 and 172 deg. east longitude. They abound in tropical fruits; but none was offered in barter.

At noon, on the 25th, they supposed they had got clear of the land, and next night they stood under an easy sail; but to their surprise at daylight, saw land again in different directions, and had evidently passed between two islands in the dark. A cluster of small islands were soon perceived; but no signs of inhabitants.

On the 28th, more islands were seen, and the weather being hazy, they stood off from the land; but as soon as it cleared up, they bore up to the most western island. Two large canoes were lying on the beach, but no inhabitants appeared.

A variety of islands presented themselves almost in succession: the last in latitude 9 deg. 34 min. north, longitude 169 deg. 22 min. east, were supposed to be the Barbadoes Islands, discovered by Lord Anson.



Having now a clear navigation, they prosecuted their voyage without any remarkable occurrence, till the 31st of July, when they descried Saypan. Next morning Captain Marshall sent a boat on shore, to procure refreshments, and to look for anchorage. In a short time she returned, laden with cocoa-nuts and cabbage; but as no convenient station for the ship was discovered, the captain determined to make the best of his way to Tinian, to put the sick on shore; the number of which was now increased to an alarming degree.

On the 5th of August this was put in execution, and a tent erected for the accommodation of the men. Here they found a great number of cattle, hogs, and fowls; but could scarcely secure any of them. Next day the chief mate was sent to look for water. The well, mentioned in Anson's voyage, was found quite dry; and no water was to be had within two miles of the landing place. The boat, however, came back laden with various fruits.

Towards evening, the wind blowing a strong gale, Captain Marshall, fearful of consequences, with much difficulty got the sick on board; and after riding out a storm during the night, in which they were in the momentary expectation of being driven on shore, at day-break the wind shifted, on which they cut their cables and got clear of land. Scarcely had they effected this, when it began to blow a complete hurricane, so that it was most fortunate they were got into the open sea, or they must inevitably have been dashed on the coast.

The remainder of the voyage presented nothing new or worthy of remark. On the 7th of September they came in sight of the Lema Islands, and next day anchored in Macao Roads.

VOYAGE



VOYAGE OF  
*LIEUTENANT WATTS,*  
TO  
OTAHEITE AND CHINA.

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**L**IEUTENANT WATTS, who had accompanied Captain Cook in his last voyage, when the settlement at New South Wales was determined on, solicited and obtained leave to join in that expedition. He sailed on board the *Lady Penrhyn* transport, Captain Sever; and when that ship was discharged, on the 5th of May, 1788, he left Port Jackson and returned in her.

In a few days after they set sail, the scurvy began to make its appearance. For some days they had unfavourable weather, with thunder, lightning, and rain. On the 14th, they came in sight of Lord Howe's Island, and standing off and on, during the night, next morning a boat was hoisted out, and Lieutenant Watts and a party went on shore in search of turtle; but after exploring the different bays, they found no traces of any. Another effort, however, was made, as turtle would have been a valuable acquisition, but they saw only one. However, to make amends for this disappointment, they were very successful in fishing.



When Lieutenant Ball first discovered this island, he caught a quantity of fine green turtles; but it is probable, that the change of the season had caused them to emigrate. About three leagues from this island, is a remarkably high pointed rock, which was named Ball's Pyramid, from the original discoverer.

They explored Lord Howe's Island in various directions, which had every appearance of having undergone a volcanic revolution. The feathered tribe are the sole inhabitants of this spot, and from the security they enjoy, they are amazingly numerous. Ganets were most plentiful: there were likewise large pigeons, and beautiful parrots and paroquets.

Though the soil in most places is sandy, the island is well covered with wood, in which the mangrove, the bamboo, and the cabbage prevail. The esculent vegetables are scurvy-grass, spinach, endive, and samphire.

After quitting this island, they prosecuted their voyage without any material occurrence, till the 31st, when they discovered two islands, from the appearance of which, at a distance, it was supposed some refreshments might have been procured; but on approaching one of them, they found themselves greatly disappointed. However, Captain Sever ordered a boat to be hoisted out, and with extreme difficulty a party made good their landing on the rocks, which environ the shores. The whole island evidently appeared to be a volcanic production. Part of it was covered with a long coarse grass, and the wild mangrove grew in great plenty.

The extent of this island is about two miles and a half. It was well stocked with birds, rats, and mice;



mice; but no fresh water was found, though, from the gullies seen in different parts, it is certain that it must be subject to very heavy rains. It was called Macauley's Island, and two others, to the southward, which were not examined, obtained the name of Curtis's Islands.

The scurvy, by this time, made the most alarming progress. Swelled gums, the flesh black and hard, a contraction of the sinews, and total debility were the prevailing symptoms of this dangerous malady. Wine was daily served out; but though that valuable antiseptic, four-knot, was on board, the sick at first refused to eat it. At last, however, they were glad to submit to any regimen that was likely to alleviate their sufferings; for, in a short time, only ten persons on board, officers included, were capable of doing duty. To add to their distress, they had a series of unsettled weather, and contrary winds, which delayed their progress.

At last, on the 7th of July, they fell in with the south-east trade wind, when it was determined to be the most eligible course, in their deplorable situation, to proceed to Otaheite for refreshments. In a few days they were off Oaitépeha Bay in that island, when several canoes came along-side with provisions. In standing in for Matavai Bay, the ship was in great danger of striking on the Dolphin Bank; but at last she was brought safe to an anchor, though not exactly in the station wished.

No sooner had they secured the ship, than the natives, who had watched their motions from the beach, surrounded them, crying out, "Tayo, Tayo," that is *friends*; and "Pahi no Tutti," *Cook's ship*. They did not come empty handed, but



but had brought plenty of the choice productions of the place. They seemed rejoiced to see the English, and disposed of their various commodities on moderate terms, and in a very amicable manner.

In the evening, the chief of Matavai came on board, in whom Mr. Watts recollected an old friend, and they mutually recognised each other. The chief's name was Mona, and from him they learned that Otoo was still alive, but then absent. He also informed them, that Maheine, the chief of Eimeo, after the last departure of Captain Cook, had landed at Oparree, and destroyed all the animals and fowls within his reach, while O'too was obliged to take refuge in the mountains.

Next day Oediddee, a former friend of the English, paid them a visit, and in a very affectionate manner enquired after his acquaintances. He took great pleasure in reviewing his excursion on board the Resolution; and as it appeared, no ship had touched here since Captain Cook's, they concealed the death of that officer, and made Oediddee a present, as if coming from him.

Oediddee confirmed the report of the destruction of the cattle by Maheine, and farther informed them, that Omai and the two New Zealand youths were dead.

In the evening of the 13th, a messenger brought a present from O'too, consisting of a pig, a dog, and some white cloth. Next morning a prodigious concourse of the natives was observed on the beach, when they were informed that O'too was among them. On this intelligence, Captain Sever and Mr. Watts immediately went on shore, and found him surrounded by his people, among whom were several women cutting their fore-heads



heads with the shark's tooth. But what pleased and surprised them most, was to see the portrait of Captain Cook, carried by a man in the train of O'too, and to hear that he was never without this memorial of his friend.

Nothing can more fully prove the tender and inviolable friendship of O'too for Captain Cook, than the care he had taken to preserve this picture, which was painted by Mr. Webber in 1777, and given to the chief, as a remembrance of a man whom he had so often studied to oblige. A character in which such a steady affection is displayed, must be an amiable one!

After the first salutations were over, Mr. Watts invited O'too to accompany him on board, which was readily complied with, and the portrait of the lamented navigator was carried with him. He visited every part of the ship, and seemed astonished to see so many men in a debilitated state. He confirmed the account they had heard of the death of Omai; adding, that there had been a skirmish between the people of Ulitea and those of Huaheine, in which the former were victorious; in consequence of which they had carried off a great part of Omai's property.

O'too appeared much improved in his person, and preserved his original character, of paying a liberal attention to the wants of the English. During their stay at Otaheite, he daily paid them a visit, and was always accompanied by a woman, whose advice he asked on every occasion. This female was neither so handsome nor so elegant in her manners, as the generality of her countrywomen are, nor could they discover whether she was actually the wife of O'too \*.

\* See Captain Bligh's voyage, where O'too is called Tinah.  
The



The king and all his chiefs were very urgent with them to go to Eimeo, and revenge their quarrel; but to this request a positive refusal was prudently given.

Though, from the season of the year, a scarcity of vegetables might have been expected, they had the pleasure to see them brought in the greatest perfection and abundance. Hogs were amazingly multiplied, and fowls were tolerably plenty. Some goats and cats were also offered for barter, and Captain Sever purchased a male and a female milch goat with two kids.

The bread-fruit was now exceedingly plentiful, as was the Otaheite apple. The natives likewise produced several pumpkins and chilipods, the produce of the Resolution's garden. They could not, however, be prevailed on to eat any of the pumpkins themselves; and as for the chilipods, they reckoned them poisonous. Many of the vegetables, introduced by Captain Cook, had been lost for want of care.

As no ship had touched here for some years, iron began to be exhausted; and their avidity to procure articles in that metal was extreme. Red feathers, which had formerly been held in such high estimation, were now little regarded. Thus we see the fluctuations of fashion are the same in kind, in all countries, though not in degree.

As the situation the ship lay in, was not a very eligible one, and it was thought difficult or unsafe to seek for a better, the officers did not venture much on shore; and of consequence the information they received respecting past events, or the present state of the island, was much more limited than might have been wished or expected, from  
Mr.



Mr. Watts in particular, who was no stranger to the place.

There was, however, great reason to suppose, that most of the European animals were destroyed, except goats, which had evidently increased.

The crew having recovered here, in a surprising manner, and being fit to attend to duty, Captain Sever thought it advisable to run down among the Society Isles; and accordingly they got under way, very early in the morning of the 23d. Though they wished to keep their departure a secret, lest they should be incommoded by the numbers of the natives in taking leave, it seems these friendly people had taken the alarm at the motions they observed, and shewed much concern that they were about to lose their visitors so soon. Oediddee regretted their departure very feelingly, and importuned the captain to take him to Ulitea; but O'too interposed his authority, and begged he might not be taken from Otaheite. On this Oediddee shed abundance of tears, expressed how unhappy he was, and when he put from the ship, never once took a parting look.

O'too, with much feeling, remarked what a long period had elapsed since the Resolution and Discovery were at Otaheite, and begged that the English would not absent themselves so long any more; he desired much to have some horses brought him, and as he was quitting the ship, asked for a few guns to be fired, which the captain readily complied with.

On the 25th at noon, they saw the Island of Huaheine; but owing to light winds, it was many hours before they could reach it. The ship kept standing off and on till the 29th, during which period, the natives brought off plenty of refreshments,



ments, but were less moderate in their demands than the Otaheiteans.

On the 29th, they brought to off Owharre harbour: the natives every where shewed them the most friendly attention, and liberally supplied them with provisions. In the evening of this day, an elderly chief, named Tutti, whom Mr. Watts recognised as an old friend of Captain Cook's, confirmed the intelligence they had previously received respecting Omai. It seems that he was constantly purchasing, either necessaries or superfluities; and that he was as constantly imposed on by his countrymen. Had he lived much longer, from his weak extravagance, it is probable, he might have been reduced to want. He died, however, a natural death at his own house. On his decease, the men of Ulitea attacked them on account of his property, alleging, that as he was a native of their island, they were his lawful heirs. Tutti said, that these people having prevailed by force, carried away a considerable part of his remaining effects, particularly his muskets, the stocks of which they broke, and buried the gunpowder in the sand.

The house, which Captain Cook had caused to be erected for Omai, was still in good repair, and had been covered by a very large one built after the country fashion, in which the chief of the island had taken up his residence.

Having recruited the health of the crew, and taken in a competent supply of provisions, consisting of hogs, fowls, and fruits of various kinds, they took their leave of these hospitable people, on the 2d of August, and stood to the north-west. On the 8th, they descried a low flat island, apparently well wooded, which was called Penrhyn Island.



Island. It is situated in 9 deg. 10 min. south latitude, 202 deg. 15 min. east longitude.

In the afternoon of the 20th, land was again supposed to be in sight, but there was afterwards reason to think that they were deceived by a fog-bank; for after lying by all night, next morning the illusion was no more.

In the evening of the 23d, being in the vicinity of an island and a reef, as laid down in Anson's chart, they brought to for the night. Next day gannets and various other birds flocked round the ship; but no traces of land were perceived.

Proceeding with prosperous gales, nothing remarkable occurred till the 15th of September, when they came in sight of Saypan, and next day Tinian saluted their view. Mr. Austis was sent on shore, to endeavour to procure a bullock, of which great numbers were seen grazing on the island. In a few hours he returned with one; and next morning, having cast anchor in the road, a party landed to hunt.

For some days they had light winds, with frequent showers over the land, and found the climate answer Commodore Byron's description very accurately.

Soon after they anchored, they observed a buoy, and drew up an anchor which the Charlotte transport had been obliged to leave here. The party on shore also found some spars, and three water-casks, one of which was full. From these circumstances, they conjectured that the Charlotte had been driven out of the road by adverse winds, and unable to regain her station.

From the concurrent testimony of navigators, it appears that the Road of Tinian is never safe nor long tenable. The Lady Penrhyn met with



unpleasant, squally weather, and was obliged to shift her ground. On the 29th, the wind appearing favourable, they weighed anchor, and continued their voyage.

The well at Tinian did not afford more than three tuns of water a day, nor was this of a good quality, being somewhat brackish. They obtained here two bulls, eight hogs, and about a dozen fowls. These animals were numerous, but shy.

The bread-fruit was not quite in season, and the same may be said of the guavas, which are very abundant. The mean state of the thermometer, during their stay, was 87 deg. they were pestered with flies to the last degree.

From Tinian, the voyage was unproductive of remarkable events: they anchored in Macao Roads on the 19th of October, and in due time visited their native land.

VOYAGE



VOYAGE OF  
*CAPTAIN BLIGH,*

TO THE  
SOUTH SEA,

FOR THE PURPOSE OF CONVEYING THE BREAD-  
FRUIT TREE TO THE WEST INDIES.

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**F**EW voyages, in the present age, have excited more interest or regret than that which is now under consideration. The bright prospects of its commencement, and the success that attended it, till danger and defeat were little to be apprehended, only serve to throw a deeper shade over its melancholy close. In its various scenes, it presents features to allure and repel; it records events that alternately inspire hope and chill with despair; and yet it seems as if the drama must ever remain incomplete, for the catastrophe, to this day, is only partially known.

In consequence of a petition to his majesty, from the West India planters and merchants, that the bread-fruit tree might be introduced into those islands, the king was graciously pleased to condescend to their request, and a vessel of two hundred and fifteen tons, named the *Bounty*, was purchased and equipped for this purpose. The command of her was given to



Lieutenant William Bligh, of the navy, who, having formerly sailed with Captain Cook, and having a local knowledge of the islands from which this valuable plant was to be obtained, was justly considered as a proper person to be intrusted with the conduct of such an enterprise.

A considerable time was spent in fitting up the ship in such a manner as to answer the principal purpose of the voyage, and no care or expence was spared in the general equipment. She was provisioned for eighteen months, and additionally supplied with every article that could preserve the healths of the crew, or tend to promote a friendly intercourse with the natives of the South Sea Islands.

The complement of officers and men amounted to forty-four, besides Mr. Nelson, a botanist, and an assistant under him, both recommended by Sir Joseph Banks.

On the 4th of November, the *Bounty* arrived at Spithead, and on the 24th, the captain received his final instructions; but the wind proving extremely unfavourable, some time elapsed before they could proceed on their voyage.

At last, on the 23d of December 1787, they sailed from Spithead, but in passing down the Channel, they experienced very stormy weather, in the course of which they suffered severely. On the 29th, the gale abated, and the weather became moderate, and in this state it generally continued till they reached Teneriffe.

As they were approaching this island, on the 4th of January 1788, they spoke a French ship bound to the Mauritius; and next day they anchored in the Road of Santa Cruz.



As soon as the ship was secured, the captain sent Mr. Christian, who makes such a conspicuous, but unfortunate, figure in the history of this voyage, to wait on the governor, to solicit refreshments, and liberty to repair the damages the ship had sustained in passing down the Channel. The governor sent a very polite reply, and offered whatever accommodations this island afforded. On its being intimated to him, however, that the English meant to salute, provided he would return the compliment with an equal number of guns, his excellency, from too punctilious an observance of etiquette, observed, that he did not return the same number but to persons of equal rank with himself; and, of consequence, this ceremony was wholly omitted, though without occasioning any misunderstanding.

Soon after, several officers came on board to compliment Captain Bligh on his arrival; and, as soon as it was convenient, he landed and paid his personal respects to his excellency.

The business of the ship was carried on with all due dispatch, and leave was solicited and obtained for Mr. Nelson to examine the country for plants and natural curiosities. As there was a strong surf on the shore, the captain contracted for every thing to be brought off to the ship, and agreed to give five shillings per tun for water. Very good wine was purchased at ten pounds the pipe; but this was the most unfavourable season for refreshments in general, and the price, of course, was high. The corn was full five shillings a bushel, and beef was not only dear, but very poor. From March to November, however, supplies may be had here on reasonable terms; and wine, at every season, is good and moderate.



Teneriffe, though considerably without the tropic, is so nearly within the limits of the trade wind, that navigators generally steer to it from the eastward. The Road of Santa Cruz lies on the east side of the island, at the extremity of a range of barren, craggy, hills.

The landing on the beach is generally impracticable, or, at least, dangerous with ship boats; but there is a fine pier where this may be effected without much risk, when the swell in the road is moderate.

The lower class of the inhabitants exhibit a great degree of want and wretchedness; but the governor had benevolently taken some pains to alleviate their ills. He had instituted a charitable society, which supported and employed one hundred and twenty poor girls, and as many boys. The captain was shewn this asylum by his excellency, and he had the pleasure to remark, that cheerfulness and content brightened every countenance.

The decency and neatness of the females, and the order in which they were arranged at their spinning wheels and looms, were worthy of admiration. They were engaged in the manufacture of ribbons, coarse linens, and tapes, under the superintendence of a governess, and appeared to execute their work in the most perfect style. These girls are received for five years, at the expiration of which they are at liberty to marry, and, as a portion, are allowed the implements of their trade, and a sum of money proportioned to the richness of the fund.

The men and boys are employed in coarser fabrics, such as blanketing and woollen cloths of all kinds. If they become infirm, they are allowed



lowed to spend the remainder of their days in this asylum, and are carefully attended by a vigilant inspector, and daily visited by the governor and a clergyman.

By this humane institution, a number of people are rendered happy and industrious, in a country where the climate naturally disposes them to indolence, and brings its consequent poverty along with it.

The whole number of inhabitants of this island is estimated at from eighty to one hundred thousand. They annually export about twenty thousand pipes of wine, and half that quantity of brandy. Teneriffe, indeed, is considered as the most valuable of all the Canaries; but as the cultivation of vines is chiefly attended to, they are sometimes obliged to have recourse to the neighbouring islands for corn.

The town of Santa Cruz is about half a mile, each way, in extent, and is regularly built; but the streets are very ill paved. The natives are subject to few diseases; but if any epidemic complaint breaks out, it makes terrible ravages; for which reason they are very cautious in admitting ships to have any communication with the shore, that cannot produce bills of health.

Having finished the necessary business at Teneriffe, they sailed again on the 10th, in good health and spirits; and to render the duty as easy as possible, the captain divided the people into three watches, a regulation which he thinks might be advantageously introduced into the marine service.

Next day, they lost sight of land, when the captain fully acquainted the ship's company with the nature and end of the voyage, and gave them assurances



assurances, in the name of the admiralty, of certain promotion to such as should endeavour to deserve it.

For some days, nothing material happened. Fishing lines and tackle were distributed among the men, and large shoals of fish frequently surrounded the ship.

On the 7th of February, they passed the line, when the weather, which had been rainy, became fine, and the trade wind wafted them on at a considerable rate to the south.

On the 16th, at day-break, they saw a sail to the southward, and next day came up with her; when she proved to be a whaler from London, bound to the Cape of Good Hope. By this ship the captain wrote to England; and soon lost sight of her.

After passing the equinoctial, the weather had been fine and clear, but so sultry, as to occasion faintness and lassitude. The thermometer ranged from 80 to 85 degrees.

In passing through the northern tropic, the air was generally temperate; but a thick haze surrounded the horizon, which generally cleared away at sun-set. Between the north-east and south-east trade winds, the calms and rains, if of long duration, are apt to produce sickness, unless great attention is paid to ventilation and other precautions; but, by the endeavours used, they passed the low latitudes without a single complaint.

In the evening of the 21st, they saw a sail at a distance, but could not distinguish what country she belonged to. Next day, they got out of the trade winds, and had some heavy showers, by which they profited, and obtained a tun of water. They were now about one hundred leagues distant



tant from the coast of Brasil, and as the wind blew from that quarter, some butterflies and other insects were waisted thence, and fell on the deck.

On the 2d of March, Mr. Fletcher Christian, mate, who had charge of the third watch, was appointed lieutenant. From every part of Captain Bligh's conduct, it appears, that he particularly favoured this infatuated young man.

In a short time, the change of temperature became very perceptible, the variation of the thermometer, in the course of one day, being no less than eight degrees. That the health of the people might not suffer by this sudden transition, the captain ordered them to put on their thicker clothing, which had been provided on purpose before they left England.

On the 10th, being in latitude 40 deg. 8 min. south, longitude 55 deg. 40 min. west, they found soundings at eighty-three fathoms depth. Next day, they saw many whales of an immense size, with two spout-holes on the back of the head.

At intervals they had been pretty successful in fishing, and about this time they caught a porpoise, which was eaten with good relish.

On the 19th, it was calculated they were within twenty leagues of Port Desire; but as the wind blew fresh, with foggy weather, they did not attempt to make land. They passed a good deal of rock weed, and saw many whales, albatrosses, and other marine birds.

In the morning of the 23d, they discovered the coast of Terra del Fuego, and soon after came off Cape St. Diego. As the wind was unfavourable, the captain judged it most advisable to go round  
by



by the eastward of Staten Land, rather than to attempt the Straights of La Maire.

They kept some leagues distance from the coast, to have the advantage of a regular wind; and coming in sight of New Year's Harbour, Captain Bligh was almost tempted to put in; but the lateness of the season, and the good state of health the men enjoyed, determined him, at last, to proceed to Otaheite direct.

For some days, they struggled with storms and contrary winds off this perilous coast; but, on the 31st, the wind changing into a favourable quarter, gave them hopes of accomplishing their passage round the Cape without much difficulty. This favourable appearance, however, was of short duration: the wind veered round again, and soon increased to a gale more severe than ever the captain had witnessed before, and the waves broke with mountainous violence and height. Hail and sleet fell at intervals, and a constant fire could scarcely keep the crew either warm or dry.

In this inhospitable region they were surrounded by albatrosses, the blue petterel, and the pintada. A great many of these were caught with baited hooks.

On the 6th of April, the weather again became moderate and the wind fair, of which they took all the advantage in their power. On the 9th, the storms recommenced; and the ship began to labour and to become leaky. The decks being wet, the captain humanely allowed those who had bad births the use of the great cabin to hang their hammocks in; and an unremitting attention was paid to keep the clothes as dry as possible, which is found essential in preserving health.

Notwith-



Notwithstanding all their exertions, they had the mortification to find that, owing to the storms and contrary winds, they were daily losing ground. On the 13th, the ship rolled so much, that one man broke a rib, and another dislocated his shoulder by a fall. The gunner, who had the charge of a watch, was confined by the rheumatism, and this was the first sick list that had appeared.

The period of the full moon approaching, it was hoped that the weather might prove more favourable; but this desirable event did not take place.

During this conflict with winds and storms, having caught many birds, which were naturally lean and fishy tasted, they tried the experiment of cramming them with ground corn, and found that it succeeded admirably. The pintadas, by this management, became as fat as ducks, and the albatrosses not inferior to fine geese. Some of the latter birds measured seven feet between the extremities of their wings.

On the 20th, the wind died away in the morning; but towards noon, it sprung up again from the westward, and soon blew strong, with snow and hail.

Next day, the latitude was found to be 58 deg. 31 min. south, longitude 70 deg. 7 min. west, which was nearly seven degrees to the eastward of their station on the 9th.

Reflecting on their present situation and past ineffectual toils, Captain Bligh saw how hopeless it was to persist longer in attempting a passage in this direction. Already they had been beating about for thirty days in this tempestuous ocean, and, for some time, instead of advancing, found themselves still farther from carrying their point.

On



On the other hand, from the general prevalence of the westerly winds in high southern latitudes, there was a great prospect of having an expeditious voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, and, from thence to the eastward, round New Holland. Moved by these considerations, in the evening of the 22d, the wind then blowing strong from the west, the ship was ordered to wear, and they directed their course to the Cape, to the great joy of all.

The sick list was, at this time, increased to eight; but as the complaints were chiefly such as arose from the inclemency of the climate, and the severe toils of the navigation, they were not considered as very serious or lasting.

The passage round Cape Horn, in the summer season, has seldom been attended with much danger, and is certainly to be preferred to the more distant routes to the eastward, round the Cape of Good Hope and New Holland. Captain Bligh thinks that had they arrived here only a month earlier, they could have effected their passage with ease.

The westerly winds and stormy weather continuing, convinced the captain of the propriety of his determination. They were soon wafted to the latitude of Falkland Islands; but as their stock of water was sufficient to carry them to the Cape, and little else was to be expected on those islands, they continued their course.

On the 9th of May, they were near the situation of Tristan de Cunha, according to the best authorities; but though the weather was sufficiently clear to see land at some distance, and they lie by during the night, this island did not fall within their view.



Being convinced that there must be some mistake in the charts, they gave up their search of this island, and resumed their course towards the Cape of Good Hope. On the 22d, they came in sight of Table Mountain, and steered for False Bay, and anchored in that part of it called Simon's Bay on the 24th.

After saluting the fort, the captain went on shore, and forwarded dispatches to the Cape, to announce their arrival. By a Dutch ship, then bound for Europe, letters were sent to England; and the repairs of the vessel, and the watering and provisioning business were expedited as much as possible. The crew was daily supplied with soft bread and vegetables; and the attention of the governor co-operating with the zeal of the captain, to render their situation as comfortable as could be wished.

Captain Bligh says, that Cape Town is considerably enlarged since his last visit to it, and that every thing was much advanced in price. Mutton cost four pence a pound, and other articles in proportion.

During their stay here, they took in seeds and plants adapted to the climate of Otaheite. In this they were greatly assisted by Colonel Gordon, the commandant of the troops. This distinguished character mentioned, that in his travels into the Caffre country, he had met with a native, who told him there was a white woman and a child among his countrymen, supposed to be one of the unfortunate persons belonging to the Grosvenor East Indiaman, which had been wrecked on the coast; and that she frequently embraced the child and wept bitterly. The colonel being then on his return home, and his health



much injured by the fatigues he had undergone, could only make a friend of the native, and by presents and future promises, engage him to carry a letter to this woman, and bring back an answer. Accordingly he wrote in English, French and Dutch, desiring some mark or sign might be returned to satisfy him that there was a person of her unfortunate description; and that on receiving such token, every effort should be made to procure her liberation. The Caffre was apparently delighted with his commission, but never returned; nor had the colonel ever heard anything farther respecting him. From various floating reports, which had reached Colonel Gordon, it appeared probable, that some of our countrymen had been seen among the Caffres; but nothing certain could be affirmed on that melancholy subject.

After lying thirty-eight days at this place, during which the health of the crew was completely restored, and ample supplies were procured for the remainder of the voyage, they left the Cape on the 1st of July, and soon lost sight of land. For the first week they had variable winds, with much thunder, lightning, and rain; and afterwards they had generally strong gales between the south and west.

On the morning of the 28th they descried the Island of St. Paul, and before noon were within a league of the shore. The higher parts of the island were covered with verdure, supposed, however, to be nothing more than moss. Its extent is about five miles in length, and between two and three in breadth. It appears there is good fresh water on this spot, and a hot spring, which boils food to as great perfection as fire. The road



road lies in 38 deg. 39 min. south latitude, and 77 deg. 39 min. east longitude.

Captain Bligh passed this island without coming to an anchor; and on the 19th of August they came in sight of Van Dieman's Land. Next day they attempted to steer into Adventure Bay, but were prevented by contrary winds. At last, however, they found a safe and secure station, where they moored the ship.

Captain Bligh now went in the boat to search for a convenient place to wood and water at, which he had the satisfaction to find at the west end of the beach. The water, though entirely supplied by the clouds, was good and well tasted, and easily accessible: in the summer months the gully which contains it is perfectly dry.

There were no signs of the natives having lately visited this part of the coast, or of any European vessel having touched here, since the Resolution and Discovery in 1777. From some of the trunks of trees, then cut down, shoots had arisen twenty-five feet high, and fourteen inches in circumference.

On the 22d a wooding and watering party was sent out, under the command of Mr. Christian and the gunner. The surf was very strong near the beach, so that the wood was obliged to be rafted off in parcels to the boat. In the course of his excursion this day, Mr. Nelson found a tree in a thriving state, of the enormous size of thirty-three feet and a half in girth, and of a proportionable height.

Most of the forest trees were at this time shedding their bark, which the botanist was convinced they did annually. Many of them were one hundred and fifty feet high, but were frequently



decayed at the heart, and on account of their weight were, little adapted for the purpose of masts, though convertible to almost every other use.

They had pretty good success in fishing with hooks and lines on board the ship; but in hauling the seine on shore, they were less fortunate. They saw a variety of beautiful birds, among which paroquets were the chief; but discovered few that were fit for food.

The weather was unsettled for some days, but the business was carried on with alacrity. In one of their rambles on shore, they saw the trunk of a dead tree, on which had been cut A. D. 1773. This must have been done by some of Captain Furneaux's people, fifteen years before. Such traces, of those united to us by the ties of country or of kindred, have a very impressive effect, when discovered at a distance from home. A man must have a very insensate heart, who will feel no emotion on such an occasion.

The east side of the bay, having a good soil, and being pretty clear from wood, was fixed on as the most proper situation for receiving some of the fruit trees which had been brought from the Cape of Good Hope. Accordingly, in the most select and safe spots, Mr. Nelson planted a variety of the most esteemed fruits congenial to the climate, with two sorts of Indian corn; and it is to be hoped, that future navigators will reap the benefit of this benevolent act.

On the 1st of September, for the first time, they observed signs of the natives being in the vicinity. As it was expected they would come up, the captain remained all day near the wooding and watering parties, ready to receive them; but they did not approach, and the surf would



not permit a boat to land on the part where they were seen.

Next day Captain Bligh determined to court an interview with the Indians, and advanced towards Cape Frederick Henry, where they had been observed. In a short time, about twenty persons came out of the wood, and the men, in number about twelve, descended to some rocks, where the boat might get near them, while the women remained behind.

The English approached within twenty yards of the spot; but finding it impossible to land, the captain threw some presents ashore, which they viewed with a timid caution, till convinced that they were intended for them. Captain Bligh made signs for them to go to the ship, and they returned the compliment, by inviting him to land, which was at present impracticable.

In this party the captain recollected a man distinguished for his humour and deformity, who had been seen in 1777, on the same coast. None of them had offensive weapons; they spoke with great volubility; and talked sitting on their heels, with their knees close to their arm-pits. They were perfectly naked; their skin is scarified about the shoulder and breast, and is of a dull black colour. One of them was painted with red ochre, probably to mark superiority.

Brown, the assistant to the botanist, having made an excursion in search of plants, fell in with an old man, a young woman, and two or three children. The old man, though at first alarmed, was reconciled by a present of a knife. He, nevertheless, sent away the female, who appeared to obey with reluctance. In his botani-



cal tour, Brown observed some miserable wigwams, with scarcely any furniture in them.

The New Zealand tea-plant, as it is called, grew here in great abundance. It has a small, pointed leaf, of a pleasant smell, which, being gathered and dried, answers the purpose of tea\*. Its seed is contained in a berry about the size of a pea, quinquesid at the top.

On the 3d of September every preparation was made for sailing, but a calm prevented. The natives seemed destitute of curiosity: they did not even deign to look at the ship, nor shew a disposition to profit by an intercourse with the strangers.

Next day they left Adventure Bay, with a favourable breeze, and soon passed Maria's Islands, which appeared woody, and likely to furnish convenient stations for shipping.

In 1789, Captain Cox, of the Mercury, found a harbour here, which he called Oyfter Bay, perfectly secure from all winds.

Having got clear of the land, they directed their course, with an intention of passing to the southward of New Zealand, and with a prospect of having constant westerly winds; but experience convinced them that their expectations were ill-founded.

On the 14th, they were in the latitude of New Zealand, and frequently saw sea weed; but purposely kept at a distance from the coast. On the 19th they discovered a cluster of small rocky

\* As the Chinese tea has nothing but fashion to recommend it, might not the New Zealand tea, by the sanction of authority, or the prevalence of example, soon supersede its use? We could wish to see the experiment tried.



islands; but the wind was unfavourable for approaching them, and the weather was too thick to see them distinctly. No verdure was perceived on any of them; there were, however, white patches, resembling snow or marble. The latitude of those sterile spots, is 47 deg. 44 min. south, longitude 179 deg. 7 min. east.

On the 2d of October, during a state of calm, a number of blubbers were observed round the ship, which in the night emitted a luminous appearance, as bright as the blaze of a candle, while the body itself remained opaque.

About this time the people caught albatrosses of a very superior size, and fattened them in the same manner as they had done off Cape Horn, and with similar success.

On the 9th, one of the most robust seamen died of an asthmatic complaint, of which he had shewn no symptoms before they landed in Adventure Bay. This was the first natural death in the course of the voyage, and proves that, with proper management, man may pass through every variety of climate with little danger.

Nothing material occurred till the 25th, when they discovered the Island Martea, or Osnaburg, which they passed on the north side, and found it remarkably steep. They saw but few habitations. One, however, on a small eminence, delightfully sheltered by a grove of cocoa-trees, particularly attracted their notice. A few of the natives ran along the shore, waving large pieces of cloth; but the surf rendered any communication with them impracticable.

On the morning of the 26th, they came in sight of Point Venus, in Otahiete, and soon after anchored in Matavai Bay. The natives immediately



ately came off in their canoes, and when they found they were British friends, expressed great joy, and soon covered the deck of the ship. Many enquiries were made respecting their former friends. It seems, notwithstanding the care of Lieutenant Watts, in the Lady Penhryn transport, which had been here a few months before, that the natives had obtained some knowledge of the death of Captain Cook; but as they were ignorant of the circumstances attending it, Captain Bligh strictly cautioned his men from acquainting them with particulars.

On the part of the English, it is natural to suppose they should be solicitous to know the fate of Omai; and all accounts agreed, that he had died a natural death, about thirty moons after Captain Cook's departure. The New Zealand boys had likewise paid the debt of nature. This was a sensible mortification to Captain Bligh; but the great good-will which the natives displayed, served to alleviate the loss.

Next day, several chiefs came on board, and manifested their friendly regard. Among these were Otow, the father of Otoo the king, who was then absent, Oree Pyah, his brother, and Poeno, a Matavai chief. All these received suitable presents.

The ship being secured, the captain went on shore with Poeno, by whom he was conducted to the spot where the tents had been pitched in 1777, and the same place was again appropriated for that purpose. The chief introduced the captain to his wife and sister, who were employed in staining a piece of cloth red, and these females received him with much kindness. A number of people now thronged round the house, to pay  
their



their congratulations ; but when they found the heat affected him, they politely drew back.

The captain now made enquiries about the cattle ; but the accounts he received were by no means favourable. After a short stay, he prepared to take his leave, when the women dressed him in the Otaheite fashion, and taking him by the hand, conducted him to the beach. In this walk, he had the pleasure to observe, that the island had received some benefit from the former visits of the English, as several fruits, introduced by them, had arrived at perfection, and were now offered for sale.

The same day the picture of Captain Cook was brought on board to be repaired. The frame was broken, but the painting had been well preserved, as has been mentioned in a former voyage.

On the 28th, the captain was informed, by a messenger, of the arrival of Otoo, who was now called Tinah, and a boat was sent to conduct him on board. He came with many attendants, and shewed great satisfaction at seeing the English. He introduced his wife, with whom the captain joined noses, the customary salutation. She was named Iddeah. The name of Otoo with the title of Earee Rahie had descended to their eldest son, a minor, as is usual in this country.

These personages had brought a present, and the captain did not fail to make an adequate return, which was highly gratifying. Tinah desired some great guns to be fired, and as the shot fell into the sea at a great distance, the natives expressed their surprise by loud acclamations.

Tinah and his friends staid to dinner. This personage was no less distinguished for his size than his rank, being about six feet four inches high,



high, and proportionably stout. His wife was likewise of a very superior size, with an animated and intelligent countenance, and appeared to be about twenty-four years of age. They all eat very heartily; but the women apart.

Provisions were brought off to the ship in the greatest abundance; and to prevent any disputes, Mr. Peckover, the gunner, was appointed to manage the traffic with the natives. In a short time they became so intimate with the crew, that almost every man on board had his *tyo*, or friend, who supplied his wants.

Mr. Nelson and his assistant being sent to look for the bread-fruit, reported that the object of the mission was likely to be accomplished with ease; but to prevent imposition or difficulty, the real design of the voyage was enjoined by the captain to be concealed, till he could sound the chiefs in the manner he wished.

Next morning the captain returned Tinah's visit, and made him a more liberal present than before, distributing, at the same time, different articles to the principal people about him. The children in arms were not overlooked; and the natives seeing this, with much humour, took up boys of ten or twelve years of age, that they might come in for a share of the beads and other trifles.

In his return, Captain Bligh called on Poeno, and an elderly chief related to him, named Moannah, the principal man in the district, with whom it was prudent to be on good terms. As their situation was eligible for a garden, he planted some cucumber, melon, and fallad seeds, and promised them fruit trees, which pleas-  
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ed them not a little. At this time the bread-fruit and cocoas were in high perfection.

In the afternoon, Captain Bligh received a magnificent present from Tinah, which was conferred with all the ceremonies of an offering. It consisted of hogs, bread-fruit, and cocoa-nuts. The Otaheite breed of hogs seems to be supplanted by the European, on account of their larger size.

To particularize the unimportant transactions of every day would be tiresome. The interchanges of civility, however grateful to those who enjoyed them, can give little entertainment to readers, particularly when they relate to a people whose manners are so well known as those of Otaheite. We shall, therefore content ourselves with selecting the most singular or novel occurrences.

On the 31st, the captain went to Oparce, the neighbouring district, in reality to see what success Mr. Nelson had in finding the bread-fruit plants there, but ostensibly to pay a visit to young Otoo, the son of Tinah. For this youth he prepared a magnificent present, not unsuitable to his dignity, and proceeded with his father to the place where he lived. In the course of this excursion, the captain obtained more particular information respecting the cattle, and found that, after they had become productive, several of them had been killed and eaten by the Eimeo people, or carried away into that island.

Tinah observed the concern Captain Bligh expressed at the destruction of these animals, and seemed pleased, rather because he hoped he would execute revenge on the men of Eimeo, than because he valued the cattle. On learning, however, that he intended to visit some of the neighbouring



bouring islands, Tinah earnestly advised him not to leave Matavai, observing that they were all friends to King George, and would supply the English with every thing they wanted.

The captain replied, that on account of their good-will, King George had sent out some valuable presents to him, "and will not you Tinah," added he, "make some return." "Yes," rejoined the chief, "I will send him any thing I have." He then began to enumerate the different articles he possessed, and among the rest, mentioned the bread-fruit. This was the point to which it was wished to bring the conversation, and the captain seizing the opportunity, which appeared incidental, told him that the bread-fruit would be very acceptable to King George; on which Tinah promised that plenty should be put on board, and seemed delighted that he could gratify the King of Great Britain at so cheap a rate.

They now proceeded to visit Otoo the Earee Rahie. Tinah told the captain that no person could see his son who was not uncovered down to the shoulders. Captain Bligh replied that he had no objection to pull off his hat, the same as he would do to his own king; on this, Tinah threw a piece of cloth round his shoulders, and they both went in. The young king, who appeared to be about six years old, was brought out on a man's shoulders, clothed in a piece of fine white cloth, and a present was made him, and to some of the other children of the royal family, who were brought up together.

Tinah himself had uncovered his shoulders, as did his attendants in this visit. In their return, they were entertained at Tinah's house with a concert of a drum and three flutes. The performers



formers were complimented by the captain with some presents; and when he was about to depart, this sociable chief desired him to fire his pocket pistol, the *poopooe ete ete*, as he called it. The report gave an electric shock to the crowd; but finding no harm done, they shewed signs of approbation.

On the 2d of November, Mr. Christian was sent with a party to erect the tent; and with the consent of the chiefs, a boundary line was drawn round it, to prevent the intrusion of the natives. None were to pass this without leave. This party consisted of seven persons, besides Nelson and his assistant.

After dinner, at which Tinah was a guest, the captain was invited to accompany him with a present of provisions to a society of the Arreoyo, whose licentious manners, in promiscuous commerce with the sex, and in killing all the children which are the produce of it, have been mentioned in Cook's Voyages.

On arriving at the beach, a large quantity of bread-fruit, hogs ready dressed, and cloth was seen collected. At a few yards distance sat the principal Arreoy, who was addressed by one of Tinah's people in a pretty long speech. The presents were then laid before the Arreoy with much form, and Captain Bligh was instructed to repeat several sentences dictated by Tinah, the meaning of which he did not understand. This being finished, he was introduced to another Arreoy from Ulitea, and delivered an oration in the same manner. Tinah, understanding that the captain had children in his own country, desired him to make another offering in favour of them. To this he complied, without knowing the meaning



of what he was doing, or how his children could be concerned in the transaction. His pronunciation of course not being very exact, occasioned much mirth among the natives; but the Arre-oy preserved a steady gravity.

It appears this inhuman fraternity is highly respected, and is composed of men distinguished for their valour or some other merit. Tinah confessed that he once belonged to it, and that his first born was killed; but that he afterwards quitted the society.

As an excuse for a practice, so disgraceful to human nature as infanticide, the natives say they are too populous, and that it serves to keep the numbers down. However, none of the lower ranks are ever admitted into the Arreoy society, so that the increase of them, it seems, is not regarded as an evil.

As the strongest instance of the barbarity of of this institution, Captain Bligh says he was informed, that the chief of the district of Tettaha, who had married a sister of Otow, had destroyed eight children as soon as they were born, and afterwards adopted a nephew as his heir. We shudder at the recital of such a tragedy; and execrate the soil that supports such monsters.

On mentioning these circumstances, Captain Bligh suggests an idea, and to those who have power to give it effect, it seems very worthy of consideration. He thinks that the superflux of the natives of Otaheite might be advantageously transported to New Holland, and thus not only people a desert, but preserve the life of numbers.

On the 5th, they began to take up the plants, and were cheerfully assisted by the natives, who perfectly understood the business of raising and pruning them.



The inhabitants still resorted to the ship and brought provisions in abundance. Some of the chiefs constantly dined on board, and seemed to relish the wine. About this time a ludicrous incident happened. The ship's barber had brought a painted female head, well dressed, and having given it a body, it was partially exhibited, and the rumour was soon spread that an Englishwoman was on board. This excited their curiosity, and when they were introduced to the doll, they gave a general shout of approbation. Many of them were deceived, and asked the captain if it was his wife. One old woman ran with presents of cloth and bread-fruit, and laid them at her feet. The joke was at last discovered, and all seemed to enjoy it, except the old lady who had made the presents, which exposed her to the ridicule of her countrymen. Tinah and all the chiefs made many enquiries respecting the British ladies, and importuned the captain next time he came to bring a ship full of them. Even the Otaheitean females joined in the request: with them jealousy is little known.

While the captain was at dinner on the 8th, Tinah solicited permission for a man, he called his taowah, or priest, to come down into the cabin. This being granted, a religious conversation was brought on. They said their great god was named Oro; and that they had many inferior deities. They then enquired if Captain Bligh had a god? if he had a son? and who was his wife? The captain told them, he had a son, but no wife. The next question was, who was his father and mother? The captain replied he had neither; at which they laughed exceedingly; observing, "You have then a God who had never a father



or mother, and has a son without a wife!" This shews that the sublime mysteries of divine revelation are incomprehensible to a people who are so little enlightened; and it is probable they thought their own system of theology more rational than the ideas the captain gave them of his. The minds of ignorance should be illuminated by degrees. A few general principles are as much as they are qualified to receive at once.

The weather now being fine, the captain was invited to a heiva, which was performed by two girls and four men. This consisted of such wanton gestures and motions as have been described in former voyages. After this a wrestling match took place, and a scene of riot and confusion began. A party of the Arreoyoys exercised a privilege they are allowed, of stripping the females of such clothes as they think proper, and some of them were left in a state of pure nature. One young woman made a resolute defence, and seemed to bespeak the captain's intercession, who immediately rescued her from being stripped. In all the contests, Iddeah was umpire, and her decisions gave universal satisfaction.

In the course of the captain's conversation with the natives, he found there was still a bull and a cow on the Island of Otaheite; but that they were in different districts, and thus rendered useless. Before his departure, he found means to bring them together, and to leave them in such hands as were likely to take due care of them; so that the breed of cattle may still increase here.

The collection of bread-fruit plants continued to accumulate, and a few were sent on board to see how they would thrive. The major part, however, were kept on shore by the advice of the botanist,



botanist, who thought they would be most healthy, and soonest strike in this situation.

In the afternoon of the 21st, Captain Bligh was present at another heiva, which seemed intended in compliment to the strangers. Twelve men were divided into four ranks, with two women in the front, and behind them all, stood a priest who made an oration. During this, the picture of Captain Cook was placed by Captain Bligh's side; and when the priest had finished, a piece of white cloth was wrapped round the portrait, and another round the captain. A cocoa-nut leaf was then laid at his feet, and the same ceremony was paid to the picture. After this, the dancing began in the customary style.

Tinah and his wife were constant visitors on board. The lady, it appeared, had a connection with the servant who fed her husband; and when this was mentioned in her presence and that of her husband, it only afforded them occasion for merriment. But to the licentious picture of the manners of this dissipated isle, which has been drawn by some in too glaring colours, we will not add a single touch. It shall only be observed, that inclination seems to be the only binding law of marriage at Otaheite.

On the 25th, the celebrated Oberea, or, as Captain Bligh calls her, Oberce-roah, paid them a visit. She was now old and corpulent, and with difficulty was helped into the ship. As soon as she saw the captain, she clasped his knees, and expressed her happiness at this meeting, by a flood of tears. Her servants then produced some presents, and she was accommodated with a mat to sleep on at night. She had with her a favourite cat, bred from one given her by Captain Cook in 1777.



With much feeling, she recited the misfortunes that had befallen herself, her son, and friends, since the English had left Otaheite.

While they lay here, some petty thefts were committed by the natives ; but the chiefs always exerted themselves to repress this pilfering disposition, and to recover what was lost. About the beginning of December, Tinah had begun to build a new house, and the English carpenters were allowed to assist him. Soon after, the weather became very unfavourable, and the rain descended in torrents. The river was swelled so much with the rain, that the point of land, where the tent was fixed, became an island. The sea broke so high on the beach, that all communication with the shore was suspended : however, Tinah and his wife ventured off, and came on board, and expressed their apprehensions for the safety of the ship. The friendly attention of the natives on this occasion deserved every praise.

From the appearance of the weather, it was judged unsafe to remain longer in Matavai Bay, and preparations were made for sailing as soon as possible.

On the 9th, the surgeon died. He had scarcely ever stirred out of his cabin of late, but was not apprehended to be in a dangerous state. However, on being removed into a more airy situation, he died immediately. This unfortunate man was much addicted to drinking, and was so indolent, that nothing could prevail on him to use proper exercise. He was buried on shore, by the consent of the chiefs, and the natives attended his funeral with due solemnity. Some of them were very inquisitive what was to be done with the surgeon's cabin, on account of apparitions ;  
for



for they supposed that the dead is always surrounded by spirits, that would devour any person who came near them by night.

On the 17th of December, the weather being fine, the captain took a walk into the country, attended by Nelson and Moannah. In the course of this excursion, through a beautiful and fertile country, they came to a morai, where the priests were performing their devotions. Sixteen men were sitting on their heels, and in the front was a pole covered with a plaited cocoa-nut branch. After various prayers and responses, an offering of plantains and bread-fruit was left for the Eatua. These people asked the captain and his friends to partake of a baked hog; but he declined their invitation, that he might have more time to see the country. Continuing their progress up a valley, they came to a cascade full two hundred feet high, which the natives consider as the greatest curiosity in the island. Underneath is a pool eight or nine feet deep, in which they make a rule to bathe at least once in their lives, probably from some superstitious motive.

The hills here converge in such a manner, that they are only a few yards apart; but they are well covered with wood. Seeing the difficulty of proceeding farther, the captain returned, and dined with an old friend of Nelson's, who served them with shaddocks, which the botanist had planted here in 1777.

As the captain had not determined whether he should proceed to the Isle of Eimeo, or to Toah-roah Bay, near Oparee, Tinah and his other friends shewed much solicitude, and by the most endearing attentions, endeavoured to persuade him not to proceed to Eimeo. To comply with  
their



their wishes as far as was safe or prudent, Captain Bligh had explored the bay near Oparee, and finding it proper for his purpose, signified his intention of proceeding thither, which diffused a general joy.

On the 24th, seven hundred and seventy-four pots of the bread-fruit tree were taken on board, all in a healthy state ; and next day the ship was unmoored, and proceeded to Toahroah Bay, where they anchored, after being in some danger from the vessel grounding.

Immediately, the principal people welcomed their arrival, and presents were offered with much solemnity to the God of Brittanee, to King George, and to the captain. A speech was then returned by one of his friends in the captain's name, signifying that he accepted the presents, and giving advice to the natives to abstain from theft, to trade in a friendly manner, and to conform themselves to the usual regulations which had been established.

This proved a delightful situation, and the ship lay in security. The plants were landed, and the same party went on shore as at Matavai.

Early in the morning of the 5th of January 1789, the small cutter was missing ; and on mustering the ship's company, four men were found wanting. It appeared that they had deserted, and taken with them eight stand of arms and ammunition ; but their object, or the place of their retreat, was unknown. In a short time the cutter was brought back by the people of Matavai, and the captain was informed that the deserters had departed in a canoe for the Isle of Tethuroa.

On receiving this intelligence, the captain solicited the assistance of the friendly chiefs to bring them



them back, adding that he was determined to recover them. They readily engaged to exert themselves in this service; and after some time, the deserters, finding themselves pursued, made a merit of necessity, and returned and surrendered themselves.

One of the officers having inadvertently plucked a branch from a tree called tutuee, which bears the oil-nut, and was growing at a morai, had fixed it to the posts of the house, on which the natives all retired. They said the house was taboo, and that none might approach it till this interdiction was taken off, which could only be done by Tinah. The captain was much displeased at this piece of wanton indiscretion, as the effect it had upon the natives was not unknown; and used his interest with Tinah to get the taboo taken off, on which the natives resorted to them as before.

In taking a walk with Tinah, on the 16th, near a burial place, the cries of grief reached the captain's ears; and approaching, he found a number of women, one of whom was the mother of a young female child that lay dead. On seeing strangers, they not only ceased their mourning, but burst out into an immoderate fit of laughter. The captain observed to Tinah, that they could feel no real sorrow, on which he jocosely told them to cry again; but they did not resume their mourning at his command. Unfeeling as this conduct may appear, they are in general very affectionate parents: but death, among these lively people, is stripped of many of those terrors in which the serious and reflecting dress it.

About this time one of the seamen was punished with nineteen lashes for striking an Indian. The chiefs made great intercession for his pardon;



don ; but it would have been unsafe to grant it, as it was a direct violation of the most positive orders, and might have led to dangerous consequences.

On the last day of January, all the chests were taken on shore, and the inside of the ship washed with boiling water, to kill the cockroaches, which would have been fatal to the plants, if suffered to increase. Mice and rats were kept down by good cats and traps. When Captain Cook was last here, the rats were so numerous and so tame, that they flocked round the people at their meals for the sake of the offals ; but since the introduction of cats, they are much reduced, and driven to their holes.

After breakfast, the captain took a walk to Matavai, to see the cattle and the gardens. Tinah, who accompanied him, was already perfectly stupefied with a too potent doze of ava. Iddeah was also of the party, and on all occasions she appeared to be one of the most intelligent persons Captain Bligh had met with at Otaheite. In the vicinity of Poeno's house, they saw the bull and cow. To his and Tinah's care they had been intrusted by the captain, who having purchased and brought them together, had a right to commit them to those who were most likely to regard his recommendations \*. Though many things had failed in the gardens, some Indian corn and various fruits were in a thriving state.

Having returned on board to dinner, Tinah, to the captain's surprise, seriously proposed that

\* Though the goats had multiplied, the natives could not be induced to use their milk, and asked the English why they did not also milk sows.



he and Iddeah should pay a visit to King George, who, he said, he was sure would be glad to see him. To wave this proposal without offending, the captain told him, that he would represent his wishes to his majesty, and that if he came again, he would bring a larger ship with superior accommodations. Tinah expressed great apprehensions that he should be attacked by his enemies, as soon as the English left Otaheite, and that they would be too powerful for him. It is, indeed, too much to be feared that the attentions of their new friends served to excite jealousy among those who were less favoured; and that they would unite against the objects of their particular regard.

A few days after, a young man, in a wrestling match, had his arm put out of joint at the elbow. Three of his countrymen immediately took hold of him, and two of them, fixing their feet against his ribs, reduced the dislocation. The captain being present, had sent for the surgeon; but before his arrival all was well, except a swelling occasioned by the tension. These people, indeed, have skill enough to cure fractures with success; and instances have occurred of their performing amputation, and healing the wound in a masterly manner.

On the 6th of February, the Captain discovered, with much concern, that the cable, by which the ship rode, had been cut close to the water's edge, in such a manner, that only one strand was left entire. As the wind had blown fresh in the night, the danger they had escaped filled them with just alarm. Tinah came on board soon after this was perceived; and though the captain could not suspect him of being privy to this diabolical



bolical action, he insisted, in peremptory terms, on his discovering the offender. The anger he expressed created so much dread, that several of the chiefs, and their families, immediately fled to the mountains. Tinah, however, and his wife, with the consciousness of innocence, remained, and endeavoured to convince the captain of the unreasonableness of his anger against them, promising to use every possible means to bring the guilty person to justice.

This occurrence filled Captain Bligh with the most unpleasant reflections. The behaviour of the natives, where they lay, had been so uniformly friendly, that it seemed cruel to suspect them; and, therefore, he was willing to suppose that some strangers had been guilty of this deed. Tinah kept his promise of exerting himself to trace the offender, but in vain; and the captain, anxious not to violate the friendship which had so happily subsisted between him and the chiefs, sent to invite them back; but still urged them, as they valued the favour of the King of England, to endeavour to detect the guilty.

From subsequent events, however, there is too much reason to imagine, that some of his own men had attempted to run the ship on shore; which would have answered their criminal designs, without exposing them to the danger they afterwards incurred. But, from whomsoever this attempt arose, due precautions were taken to prevent a repetition of it, and a reconciliation took place with the natives.

This afternoon, Captain Bligh received an invitation from the Earee of Tiarrabou, the eastern division of Otaheite, to pay him a visit; but, on account of the distance, he was obliged to excuse



cuse himself, which he accompanied with a handsome present, at the suggestion of Tinah. This chief appeared desirous that others should participate in the bounties of the English; and, in this, he not only consulted friendship and personal attachment, but also political considerations.

On the 11th, the captain was entertained with a heiva. It began with a dance of two young girls to the music of drums and flutes; and, at the conclusion, they suddenly dropped their dress, and left it as a present. After this, the men danced, and, in the indecency of their gestures, they exceeded all he had seen before, and, on this account, were much applauded by their countrymen.

After this entertainment, he went to pay his respects to the widow of Towah, the late Earee of Tettaha: her name was Wonow-oorā. She was seated on the beach; and, after an interchange of offerings, called otee, between her and Tinah, the latter advanced and embraced her in a very affectionate manner. The old lady returned his kindness with tears, and many expressions of regard. The captain invited her on board; but she excused herself on account of age and infirmities.

On the 13th, the captain was informed by Tinah, that many strangers had arrived from different parts to be present at a grand heiva, which he had prepared in honour of him. On landing, he found a great concourse of people, and Tinah and several chiefs advanced to meet him. The company being seated, the heiva commenced by women dancing; after which a present of cloth and a breast-plate were laid before the captain. This ceremony being over, the men began to



wrestle, and confusion ensued. Old Otow requested the captain to interfere, as there were people from different districts, who harboured animosity against each other. In an instant all was tumult: every man took his arms; and the captain retiring to his post, put his men in hostile array, and immediately gave orders for two guns to be fired from the ship without shot. This had a good effect; and as all the chiefs exerted themselves to restore order, the affray was soon at an end.

During this tumult, Tinah and Iddeah shewed the most amiable sollicitude for the captain's safety; and when it was over, returned with the pleasing news.

Tinah had ordered three hogs to be dressed, and a quantity of bread-fruit, which he directed the captain to distribute in such a manner as was calculated to give satisfaction to the natives. This was certainly an instance of true politeness: he wished to give the captain the credit of the bounty without the expence of it. Indeed, Tinah shewed many proofs of liberality, both to the English and the natives; and his hospitality was without ostentation.

In a few days, Captain Bligh was invited to be present at a wrestling match by women. They challenge and attack in the same manner as the men; but shew less temper and more animosity. They are said sometimes to engage in this exercise with the men; and Iddeah is considered as a champion among her sex.

About the end of February, a native died at a small distance from the English post. The captain, curious to see the funeral ceremonies, was desirous to attend; but before he could reach the spot,



spot, the corpse was carried to the toopapow. It lay bare, except a piece of cloth round the loins, and another round the neck. The eyes were closed, and one of the hands was placed on the pit of the stomach, and the other on the breast. On a finger of each hand was a ring, made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut tree, with a small bunch of red feathers lying near. Under the toopapow, a hole was dug, in which, at the expiration of a month, the body was to be interred. In conformity to the European custom, which they have copied, the dead of the higher classes are, sometimes, put in oblong wooden boxes.

A theft being committed on the night of the 1st of March, the natives, who had been apprized of it, and fearful of the captain's resentment, fled to the mountains. Tinah was made acquainted with these circumstances; but, instead of coming on board, he instantly set out in pursuit of the thief; and, in a short time, the principal articles that had been stolen were recovered, and the culprit put into the captain's hands, with orders to kill him. The captain expatiated on the enormity and ingratitude of this offence, observing, that the least trespass against the natives was punished with severity, and that friendship required they should not screen offenders against the English. In the midst of this harangue, Tinah came up and embraced him, and the whole crowd cried out, "Tyo mity," or good friend.

The thief belonged neither to Matavai nor Oparre, and as his pardon could oblige none of their friends, he was taken on board and flogged, by way of example.

They now began to make preparations for their departure. Tinah, whose assistance facili-



tated every part of their business, had frequently expressed a desire of obtaining some firearms and ammunition, to defend himself from the attacks of his enemies, which he dreaded as soon as the ship was gone. To oblige and protect him, the captain promised to leave him a brace of pistols, which he preferred to muskets; observing, that Iddeah would fight with one and Oediddee with the other. Iddeah, indeed, appeared to have more martial courage than her husband, whose spirit was by no means equal to his size.

For several days the weather proved very unfavourable, and little occurred worthy of remark. On the 13th of March, a number of canoes arrived from Tethuroa, in which was a large tribe of the Arreoyoys. Among the rest was an Arreoy woman, of some distinction, on whose arrival a ceremony was performed, called hooepippee, which seemed designed as a public visit to all their friends who were collected on the occasion. The Arreoy men, as usual, took their opportunity to plunder all the females who were near them. After this, a present of hogs, fruit, and different kinds of puddings, was prepared for young Otoo, the earee rahie, which his mother accepted in his name. Captain Bligh, not chusing to conform to the ceremony of uncovering his shoulders, had very little intercourse with this young personage, except by speaking to him sometimes across a river; but as he seldom failed to send him some little presents, his appearance always seemed to give pleasure.

On the 14th, they were visited by a very old man, uncle to Tupia, the person who sailed from these islands with Captain Cook in 1769, and who died at Batavia. This aged sire was treated  
with



with much respect by the natives. He made several enquiries after his nephew, and desired, when they came again, they would bring his hair. When Tinah had requested to be carried to England, and the captain asked what account he should give his countrymen, in case he did not live to return, he replied, that he must cut off his hair and carry them, and then all would be right.

For some days past Tinah had been busied in getting two parais, or mourning dresses, made, which he intended as a present for King George. When finished, they were hung up in his house as a public exhibition, and a long prayer made on the occasion; the purport of which was, that the King of England might ever remain his friend, and not forget him. When he presented the parais to the captain to be taken on board, he could not refrain from tears. Indeed, all the natives seemed to lament that their friends were so soon about to leave them, and redoubled their kindness and attention.

On the 31st, the plants were all taken on board, consisting of seven hundred and seventy-four pots, thirty-nine tubs, and twenty-four boxes. Exclusive of the bread-fruit plants, they had collected several others, indigenous here. Among the rest were the avee, one of the finest flavoured fruits in the world; the ayyah, an excellent fruit likewise; the rattah, not very dissimilar to a chestnut; the orai-ah, a superior kind of plantain; the etton and matte, with which the natives dye a beautiful red; and the peeah, of which they make a delicious pudding.

The captain now made his farewell presents to several of his friends; but Tinah and his wife remained



mained with him till the last. On the 3d of April, the eve of their departure, the ship was crowded with visitors; but mirth and dancing on the beach were no more: all was silent and solemn.

Next morning, at day light, they weighed, and soon got out to sea. For some time the ship stood off and on, and many canoes still attended them. Tinah and Iddeah pressed them much to anchor in Matavai Bay, and stay one night longer; but having taken leave of most of their friends, they were unwilling to undergo this pain a second time.

After dinner, the captain ordered the presents intended for Tinah to be produced. They consisted of the promised pistols, two muskets, a good stock of ammunition, and other articles. He then pointed out the necessity of their bidding each other adieu. The chief and his wife took a most affectionate leave, and at parting exclaimed, Yourah no t' Eatua tee eveerah: "May the Deity protect you for ever and ever!" On their going overboard, they manned ship, and gave three cheers.

Thus, after a stay of twenty-three weeks, on the 4th of April 1789, they took their farewell of Otaheite, where they had been treated with the utmost affection and regard; and that some of the English were too sensible of the endearments, the following events demonstrably proved.

Next morning, they came in sight of Huaheine, and soon after brought to off the Harbour of Owharre. It was some hours before any canoes came off, as the natives expected the ship was coming to an anchor. In the afternoon, they were visited by several canoes, and in one



was a young man, who called the captain by name, and who had lived with Omai. He gave the same account as has been formerly stated of the death of his friend, and informed them, that of all the animals which had been left with Omai, only the mare was alive; and that most of the fruits were destroyed. These people pressed the captain to anchor, and Omai's companion requested to be taken to England. Neither demand could be granted.

At six o'clock they made sail, and ran between the Islands of Huaheine and Ulitea. Next morning they directed their course for the Friendly Islands.

On the 9th, the weather became squally and the sky overcast, and soon after they perceived a waterspout, which passed within ten yards of their stern without doing them any damage. It seemed to be moving at the rate of ten miles an hour, and in fifteen minutes after, it dispersed.

As they sailed nearly in the track of former navigators, new discoveries were not much to be expected; however, on the 11th, they came in sight of an island and several low keys. The island had a very fertile aspect, and was covered with coconut and other trees, interspersed with beautiful lawns. The wind being unfavourable, they could not approach it; but next day, being off the most southern key, they saw a number of people, and soon after a canoe came along-side, without the natives shewing either surprise or apprehension. The captain gave them a few beads, on which they came on board. One of these people, who seemed to have an ascendancy over the rest, joined noses with the captain, in token of friendship, and presented him with a large mother of pearl



pearl shell, which he took from his own neck, and fastened round the captain's.

These people spoke a dialect of the language of Otaheite. They said the large island was named Wylootackee; and that it was subject to an earee, called Lomakkayah. They pretended that they had neither hogs, dogs, nor goats in their country; and though the captain suspected them of a fallacy, he ordered a young boar and a sow to be put into one of their canoes, together with several articles of iron and a looking-glass. It was observed that the chief monopolized the whole, on which one of the people expressed much dissatisfaction; but after a little altercation, they joined noses and were reconciled. Several of them wished to stay on board all night; but this request was thought improper to be complied with, lest the ship should be driven off from the land. Just as they were going away, they made the captain a present of a wooden spear, pointed with the toa wood.

On the 23d, they reached the Island of Annamooka, when several canoes came along-side of them; but the captain could not recognise any of his old acquaintances. Next day, however, he saw an old man, named Tepa, whom he immediately recollected. With this person he could converse so as to be understood; and from him he learned that Poulaho, Feenow, and Tubow were still alive at Tongataboo; and that the cattle left here had all bred.

Soon after, the captain landed with Nelson, to replace some bread-fruit plants, that were either dead or sickly. A number of the natives surrounded them; and Tepa thinking they meant to make some stay here, offered the use of a large boat-house  
for



for their accommodation. In their walk, they found some plants and seeds, introduced here by Captain Cook, in a very thriving state, particularly pines, which the natives admired very much.

In returning to the watering-place, the captain was presented with some bundles of cocoa-nuts, and though this fell short of his expectations, he appeared satisfied, and made due returns.

The chiefs went on board to dinner, and a brisk trade was carried on for yams and bread-fruit. In the afternoon, more sailing canoes arrived, some of which contained not less than ninety persons.

On the 25th, the wooding and watering parties went on shore, and the former were cautioned against meddling with the *excoecaria agallocha* of Linnæus, called, in the Malay language, *cajumata boota*, which signifies the tree that wounds the eyes. It blinded, for some time, Captain Cook's wood cutters in 1777. Several thefts were soon committed by the natives; but by the interference of Tepa, the greatest part of the stolen articles were recovered. A boat's grapnel being purloined, the captain, after unmooring, threatened to carry away some chiefs whom he had on board, unless it was restored. Canoes were immediately dispatched in search of it; but it was discovered, that it had been carried to another island and could not be brought back till next day. As evening came on, the unhappiness of the captive chiefs increased: they beat their faces, and cried bitterly. Their distress was greater than the injury sustained; and as there was no reason to suppose that they were privy to the theft, they were set at liberty with some presents, for which they



they made the most profuse and grateful acknowledgments.

Next day, proceeding on their voyage, they found themselves between Tofoa and Kotoo; and thus far success had attended the expedition, and the captain anticipated a happy completion of his labours. But a scene, as unexpected as deplorable, soon opened. A secret conspiracy had been formed, which involved him, and such as adhered to his fortune, in the deepest distress, and rendered all his exertions abortive.

Owing to light winds, they had not got clear of the islands; and the watch being set for the night, the captain retired to rest. Just before sun rising, Christian, who had charge of the morning watch, with the master at arms, gunner's mate, and a seaman, entered Captain Bligh's cabin while he was still asleep, and seizing him, bound his hands behind his back with cords, threatening instant death if he made resistance or noise.

Not intimidated, however, he tried to alarm the officers and crew; but the conspirators had taken care to secure or confine such as were not engaged in their nefarious design. The captain was forced on deck in his shirt, before he could recover from the consternation of this rude attack; and when he began to demand the cause of such violence, he was silenced by menaces of death.

The boatswain was now ordered to hoist the launch out, when Messrs. Hayward and Hallet, midshipmen, and Mr. Samuel were ordered into it, together with such as the conspirators could not rely on. In vain did Captain Bligh exert himself to recal the crew to a sense of their duty.

He



He was surrounded by armed villains, who cut off his communication with the well-affected or wavering; and to the endeavours of some of those who were doomed to be partners in his misfortunes, he was indebted for the preservation of his commission and the journals. The unfortunate party in the boat were allowed to collect several insignificant articles, and to carry off a quadrant and a compass; but on pain of death, they were forbidden to touch either map, ephemeris, or any of the captain's drawings and surveys, which were numerous, and had been accumulating for fifteen years.

In this dilemma, the captain displayed abundant resolution. Though he laboured without effect, to bring back the conspirators to order and duty, he did it in defiance of their menaces, which he braved. It was evident, that a few who were detained on board, had either never cordially entered into the plot, or began to repent of it. These were anxious that their captain should know they were kept contrary to their inclination. Christian, the ringleader of the mutinous gang, seemed to hesitate whether he should suffer the carpenter, or his mates to depart; but at last the carpenter was allowed to leave the ship with his chest, though not without altercation, some of them swearing, "that the captain would find his way home, if he was allowed to carry any thing with him." Others, on the contrary, laughed with a savage malice, at the helpless situation of the company in the boat; and when the captain demanded arms, they joked him, and told him "he was well acquainted where he was going, and therefore did not want them." However, they at last threw in four cutlasses.

He



He was now told that the boat was ready, and that he must quit the ship. As they were forcing him overboard, the remembrance of past kindnesses agitated Christian with the pangs of *remorse*, ~~venge~~. When asked if this was a proper return for the friendship that had been shewn him, he answered, with much emotion, "that, Captain Bligh—that is the thing—I am in hell—I am in hell."

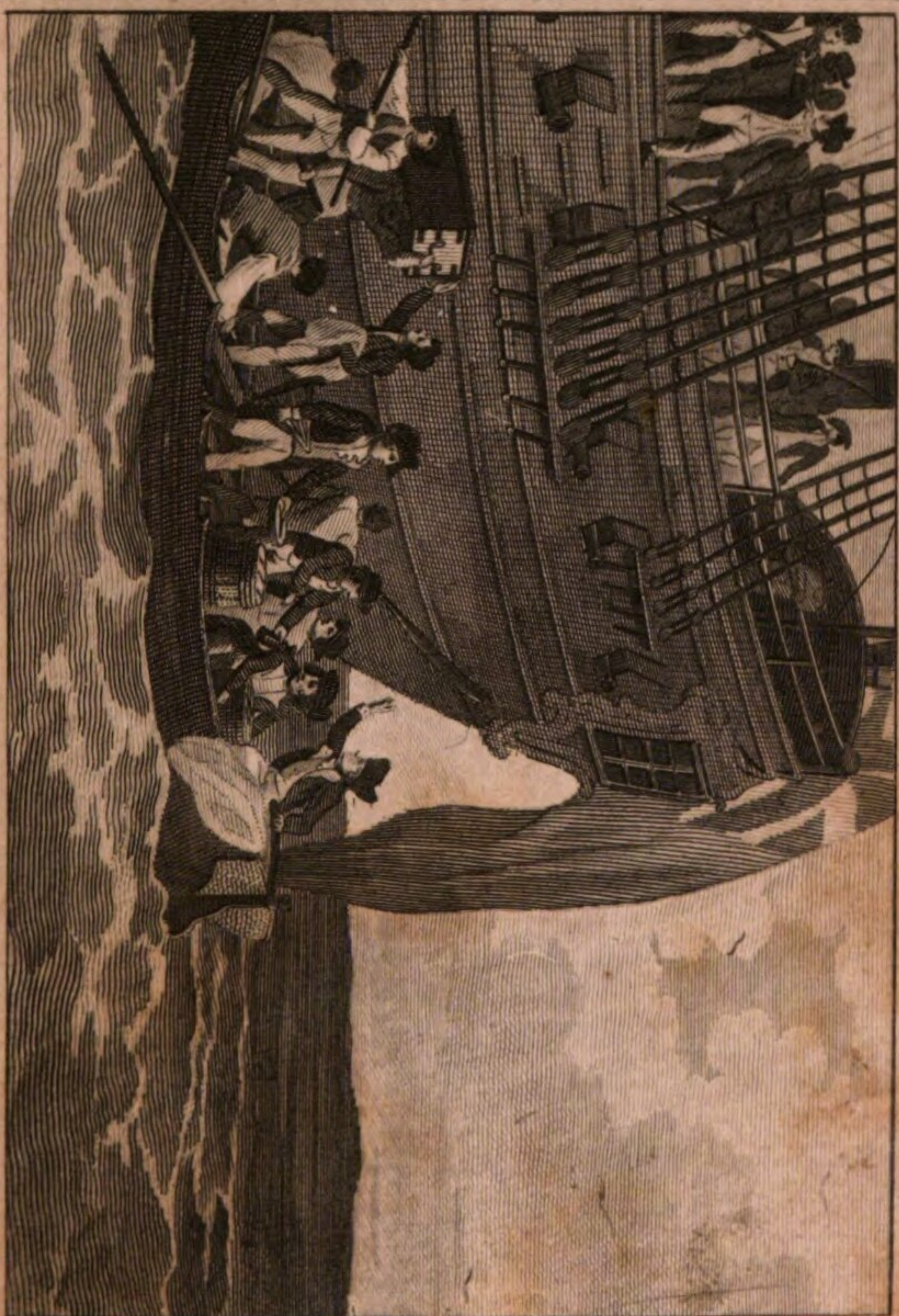
With such deep laid policy and secrecy was this conspiracy conducted, that neither the captain nor any of the men, who accompanied his fate, had the most distant suspicion of such an event. No grievance was stated, no complaint was alleged: it is therefore probable, that the sole temptation was the sensual pleasures of Otaheite. "The women there," to use the words of Captain Bligh, "are handsome, mild, and cheerful in their manners and conversation, possessed of great sensibility, and have sufficient delicacy to make them admired and beloved." The chiefs, too, were much attached to the English, and had even promised them large possessions, if they would stay among them. It is not, therefore, much to be wondered at, if young men, hurried away by passion, and free from any particular ties in their native country, should prefer Otaheite to England.

Every reader of sensibility will feel an interest in the fortunes of those unhappy men, who were thus turned adrift in the wide, and almost boundless ocean, and will naturally desire to know their names; to gratify this disposition, we subjoin a list of the boat's crew.

|                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| William Bligh,  | Captain.        |
| Thomas Ledward, | Acting Surgeon. |
| David Nelson,   | Botanist.       |

William





Corbould del.

Taylor sc.

Mutinous Conduct of the Boatmen's Crew







|                     |                        |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| William Peckover,   | Gunner.                |
| William Cole,       | Boatswain.             |
| William Purcell,    | Carpenter.             |
| William Elphinston, | Master's Mate.         |
| Thomas Hayward,     | } Midshipmen.          |
| John Hallet,        |                        |
| John Norton,        | } Quarter-masters.     |
| Peter Linkletter,   |                        |
| Lawrence Lebogue,   | Sailmaker.             |
| John Smith,         | } Cooks.               |
| Thomas Hall,        |                        |
| George Simpson,     | Quarter-master's Mate. |
| Robert Tinkler,     | A Boy.                 |
| Robert Lamb,        | Butcher.               |
| Mr. Samuel,         | Clerk.                 |

On board the *Bounty* there remained twenty-five persons, the most able men of the ship's company; but we feel no wish to preserve their names.

When Captain Bligh found himself abandoned in this manner, the poignancy of his regret must have been extreme. But it was a duty he owed himself and associates, to make the best of present circumstances, and to plan for the future with as much discretion as possible. The first determination was to seek a supply of bread-fruit and water at *Tofoa*, and afterwards proceed to *Tongataboo*, and solicit his former friend *Poulaho*, for such assistance as might enable them to proceed to the *East Indies*.

The whole quantity of provisions found in the boat, when they were turned adrift, amounted to no more than one hundred and fifty pounds of bread; sixteen pieces of pork, each weighing two pounds; six bottles of rum; six of wine; and



twenty-eight gallons of water: a stock scarcely more than sufficient for five days consumption.

The afternoon being favourable, they reached Tofoa the same evening; but the shore proved too steep to land, and they found no anchorage. In the morning, they coasted along in quest of a landing place, and discovered a stony cove at the north-west part of the island, where they dropped the grapnel of the boat, and with some difficulty a party got on shore to look for supplies. Towards noon, they returned with only a few quarts of water, which they had collected from the holes, but had neither found a spring, nor seen any inhabitants. The captain, not knowing to what farther necessities they might be reduced, resolved to husband the present stock of provisions, and distributed only a morsel of bread and a glass of wine to each person for dinner. He had the consolation to find, that the spirits of his companions did not sink, notwithstanding their forlorn and almost hopeless situation; and what added to his own comfort, they could neither reflect on him, nor could he charge himself with being accessory to their misfortunes.

As the wind rendered it impossible to put to sea, they set about examining the island, with a view of deriving what resources from it they could; but found little water, and only a few cocoa nuts. In the course of their excursion, they saw some of the huts of the natives, but hitherto none had made their appearance. To ascertain whether Tofoa was actually inhabited, or only occasionally resorted to, a strong party was sent out on the 1st of May, by a different route, which soon fell in with two men, a woman, and a child, and conducted them to the cove. The captain



captain ingratiated himself with these people, and dispatched them to procure him a supply of bread-fruit, plantains, and water. Soon after, about thirty of the natives came up, and traded for the few articles they had to dispose of, in a fair and amicable manner; but as provisions seemed scarce here, the captain resolved to put to sea as soon as the wind and weather would permit.

Next day was very stormy. The natives, however, were coming and going all day, and the slender stock of provisions was somewhat increased. As it was supposed enquiries would be made after the ship, it was agreed to say that she had been lost, and no more saved than what they saw. On this intelligence, the natives shewed neither joy nor sorrow; and towards evening they retired, and left the English in quiet possession of the cove. After a very moderate supper, they set a watch, and lay down to rest.

Next morning these unfortunate men seemed a little revived, and the anxious solicitude of their looks was changed for a certain degree of cheerful resignation. In the course of this day, they were visited by an aged chief, named Maccaackavow, and the foraging party returned with another called Eefow, and were soon joined by a young man whose name was Nageete, who being personally known to the captain, expressed great pleasure at seeing him. Of these people he enquired after Poulaho and Feenow, who, they told him were at Tongataboo, and they agreed to accompany him thither, as soon as the weather would permit.

These promising appearances of cordiality, were, however, of short duration. Some symptoms of treachery were soon perceived; they at-



tempted to haul the boat on shore; and the beach was soon lined with numbers of people, knocking stones together, which they carried in their hands, the usual prelude of an attack.

The captain and a party were on shore, and he was very much importuned by the natives to sit down, but he was now on his guard, and watched their motions with the most anxious attention. Consultations were held among them, and every circumstance announced a meditated assault.

Having given orders, that every thing should be put on board, about sun-setting, the captain with his attendants resolutely set forward to the boat. The chiefs were earnest to keep him all night; and when they found he would not yield to their insidious advice, several of them quitted him, when "mattie," "we will kill you," was distinctly heard.

The captain, taking Nageete by the hand, walked down the beach in a silent kind of horror, while the storm seemed ready to burst, and this treacherous acquaintance appeared to be encouraging the attack. Nageete slipped away, and the men being all on board, save one, who ran up the beach to cast the stern fast off, the captain stepped into the boat; and in an instant, this unfortunate man, who was named John Norton, paid the forfeit of his life for his zeal in the faithful discharge of his duty. Stones flew like a shower of shot; many of the natives had got hold of the stern rope, and were hauling the boat on shore, in which they must have succeeded, had not the captain cut the rope with his knife.

Scarcely, however, was the boat got off, when several canoes were filled with stones, and pursued her with great resolution. The English were  
soon



soon almost wholly disabled by the stones which flew round them, without being able to defend themselves. In this critical situation, the captain, with much presence of mind, threw some old clothes overboard; and while the natives were busied in picking them up, the boat got to some distance, and the darkness setting in, the canoes gave over the pursuit.

Their situation was now more deplorable than ever; they saw that the peaceable behaviour of these people had formerly proceeded from fear of the firearms; and that they had little to hope from their mercy, when the means of annoyance or defence were wanting.

Perhaps it is impossible to conceive any thing more distressing than their present fate. Cut off from all hopes of finding either assistance or security among these people, at an immense distance from home, or even any European settlement, the stoutest heart must have been daunted at the prospect\*.

While the captain was revolving in his mind what course to pursue, he was earnestly requested by the whole company to take them towards home; and when he told them that no hopes of relief remained but at New Holland, or

\* It occurs to the writer of this, that it might have been advisable to have returned to Otaheite. The captain left these people on such terms as would have secured a good reception among them; and if he could not, by their assistance, recover his ship, he might have found an asylum there, till government had sent out another vessel in quest of him, or some European ship touched there: but the idea of home most probably pressed on his mind as well as that of his people; and made them despise every danger that gave them a chance of once more being restored to the bosom of their country.



Timor, a Dutch settlement full twelve hundred leagues distant, they all consented to live on an ounce of bread a day, and a quarter of a pint of water. The stock was then examined, and recommending this restriction in food as a sacred promise, which they were never to forget, he bore away across an ocean but little known, in a small boat, only twenty-three feet long, deeply laden with eighteen men, without any chart to guide him, and with no assistance, save a general recollection of places, and a book of longitudes and latitudes. However, he had the pleasure to observe, that his men were better satisfied with his knowledge than he was himself.

They now returned thanks to the Almighty for their miraculous preservation from the natives of Tofoa; and well might it be called miraculous, for had they been attacked before they reached the boat, nothing could have saved them from destruction.

Next morning the sun rose with a fiery aspect, a sure indication of a storm, which soon overtook them. Their danger and distress were most imminent: the sea curled over the stern of the boat, and they were obliged to bale with all their might, to keep her from sinking. After this tempest somewhat abated, each person was served with a tea-spoonful of rum, and a small quantity of bread-fruit, scarcely eatable. This was their dinner. Their engagement was now strictly to be observed, and it was determined to make their slender stock of provisions serve them eight weeks, however small the daily proportion might be.

To particularize the painful labours of every day, where only distress marked the hours, would  
afford



afford little information, and certainly could be no entertainment. We shall therefore only mention the most extraordinary occurrences, whether of patient fortitude or aggravated misery; whether of discovery or relief.

They now steered their course towards the Feejee Islands, which they hoped to come in sight of. On the 4th of May they discovered a small low island, and next day they descried several more, through which they sailed.

Hitherto they had not been able to keep any particular account of their run; but having now provided themselves with a log-line marked, by a little practice they could note their progress with tolerable exactness.

On the 6th they discovered several other islands, about latitude 17 deg. 17 min. south; and, from appearances, they were fertile and inhabited.

It may well be supposed that they were miserably confined for want of room to repose. To remedy this inconvenience as far as possible, they were put to watch and watch; but even with this, they had not space to stretch their legs, which were dreadfully cramped; and being constantly wet, after a few hours rest, they were almost incapable of moving. Heaven was their only canopy in the most inclement weather.

On the 7th, two large canoes were seen sailing along shore, off one of the islands, as if pursuing them; which made them row with all their might, being sensible of their weak and defenceless state against the most insignificant enemy. From the appearance of these canoes, and the vicinity to the Friendly Islands, it was probable the inhabitants were of the same race; but they were  
justly



justly fearful of coming to an interview with them. The islands they had lately seen were supposed to be the group known by the name of the Feejee Islands. At least their situation corresponds with the information formerly received.

On the 9th, the weather being fine, they cleaned out the boat, and employed themselves in getting every thing dry and in order. To keep up the spirits of the men, the captain amused them with describing the situation of New Guinea and New Holland, and gave them all the information in his power, that in case any accident happened to him, the survivors might have some idea of the route they were to pursue to Timor, which some of them did not know even by name.

Next day there was a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, with much rain. During this they caught twenty gallons of water; but spent a wretched night, and the wind increasing, the day brought no farther relief than light. A teaspoonful of rum was the only cordial they could be allowed to enable them to support the cold and wet. For some time the tempest did not abate of its violence; and being incessantly drenched with water, some began to complain of violent pains in their bowels, and all had nearly lost the use of their limbs.

On the 13th, seeing little prospect of getting their clothes dry, the captain advised them to strip and wring them through the salt water, by which means they received a degree of warmth. In the afternoon, Mr. Nelson observed the *Barringtonia* of Foster floating on the water, and some men of war birds convinced them they were not far from land.



Next day they came in sight of several islands. The latitude, as observed, was 13 deg. 29 min. south, and about 167 or 168 deg. east longitude. This sight increased the misery of their situation: they felt themselves starving in view of plenty; yet it was thought better to prolong life in the midst of misery, than risk it by attempting to land. These islands appear to be new discoveries; but they are so near the New Hebrides, that they may be considered as part of the same group.

The night of the 16th was extremely dark, not so much as a star was seen; and the sea was constantly breaking over them. They now found it necessary to act as much as possible against the southerly winds, to prevent being driven on the coast of New Guinea, which probably would have terminated the voyage and their lives. Next day, in addition to the miserable pittance of the twenty-fifth part of a pound of bread for dinner, the captain allowed each person about an ounce of salt pork. For this pork he had often been importuned; but he wished to husband it well.

The succeeding night was still more horrible, and their steerage was quite by chance. At dawn every person was complaining, and an extra allowance was warmly solicited, but steadily opposed from hard necessity. However, a teaspoonful of rum was generally served, when the nights were particularly distressing, and even the thoughts of obtaining this diffused a general satisfaction. The captain had now fully determined to make New Holland, to the south of Endeavour Straights, and directed his course accordingly.

After several successive nights of darkness and dismay, on the morning of the 20th, the men  
began



began to appear most ghastly. Extreme hunger was now manifest, but few complained of thirst. Perhaps the almost incessant wet lessened their desire. At noon the sun broke out, and shed a momentary gleam of comfort.

On the 23d their misery seemed to have reached almost its highest supportable pitch. The succeeding night was horrible; and from the melancholy state the company was in, the captain began to be apprehensive that such another night would conclude the sufferings of several. All complained of pains, and those of hunger were not the least.

Providentially, however, the weather changed for the better, and produced some cheerful looks. They now, for the first time during fifteen days, felt the genial influence of the sun.

On the 25th they examined the stock of bread, and found it, according to the present issues, to be sufficient for twenty-nine days. As it was uncertain whether they might reach a friendly port in that time, the captain resolved to proportion the allowances to six weeks; and hard as it seemed to abridge them of the little they had hitherto received, his arguments were heard with patience, and they readily fell into his measures. This day they were fortunate enough to catch a noddy, and the following day a booby was caught by the hand. These were divided into eighteen parts, entrails, claws, and all; and with the usual allowance of bread, they comparatively fared in a liberal manner to what they had done before. The blood was reserved for the more sickly. The appearance of these birds assured them of the vicinity of land, and from situation they knew it must be the coast of New Holland.

The



The weather now was fine; but the heat brought on such a languor and faintness, as made life indifferent. On the 27th they caught two more boobies, whose stomachs were well filled with flying and cuttle fish, all which were equally divided. Providence now seemed to be supplying their wants in a very unexpected manner.

Early in the morning of the 29th, before day, the person at the helm heard the sound of breakers, which were soon seen within a quarter of a mile distant; but altering their course, in a few minutes they were out of danger. At day-light they bore away again for the reefs, over which the sea broke with great fury; but within they saw smooth water. In sailing along, they happily discovered a break in the reef, and within it an island of a moderate elevation. This obtained the appellation of Direction Island, as its situation serves to point out the opening in the reef. It lies in 12 deg. 51 min. south latitude.

As they advanced within the reefs, with an intention of landing on the first convenient spot, they began to forget their past calamities, and having returned their thanks to the Supreme, for his gracious protection of them so far, they enjoyed their miserable dinner with a satisfaction to which they had been long strangers.

The coast now began to shew itself distinctly, and presented various features. On a small island near the main they found a bay, and a fine sandy point to land at. Here they remained all night, without much apprehension from the natives; for, though they discovered some old fire places, there were no signs of any having lately been on this spot.

After



After a night's repose on land, their strength and spirits were wonderfully recruited, and this gave the captain the most favourable hopes of their being able to surmount the difficulties which they had still to encounter.

Parties were now sent out to search for supplies, and the artificers were employed in putting the boat in order, and repairing the rudder; one of the gudgeons of which had come out in the course of the night, and had this been lost at sea, it most probably would have been fatal to them all. Thus the hand of Providence was again visible in their preservation.

The foraging parties soon returned with plenty of oysters and fresh water. By this time they had been able to make a fire, by the help of a small magnifying glass, which the captain always carried about with him; and having a copper pot in the boat, they were provided with the means of dressing a stew, which might have been relished by nicer palates.

At this time complaints were very general. They were chiefly dizziness in the head, great weakness in the joints, and a violent tenesmus, from a long want of the natural evacuation.

On the whole, however, all of them shewed remaining marks of strength and fortitude to undergo more fatigues.

Two miserable wigwams were discovered on this small island, but no inhabitants were seen. The track of some animal was discernible, which was supposed to be the kangaroo. The extent of the island might be about two miles. It produced the manchineal and some palms, besides other trees. Mr. Nelson discovered some fern roots,



roots, which were roasted, but they proved a very indifferent substitute for bread.

The captain had cautioned his men against eating any berry or fruit they were not perfectly acquainted with; but no sooner were they out of his sight, than the impulse of hunger made them greedily devour three different kinds of small fruit which they found here. By overloading their weak stomachs, they quickly began to feel the effects of their imprudence, and dreaded they might be poisoned. For some time the alarm was considerable; but at last they were convinced that it was the quantity, not the quality, of the fruits that had occasioned their unpleasant symptoms, and that they might use them in moderation without danger.

They saw several kinds of birds here, but without firearms it was impossible to kill any of them. Oysters and water were the principal supplies Restoration Island, as it was called, afforded; and to persons in their situation, those articles were of the highest importance and the utmost value. Rest, and a sufficiency of food to satisfy the cravings of nature, in a short time had an astonishing effect on all.

Being pretty well refreshed, and every thing ready for sea, on the 31st of May they were preparing to embark, when twenty natives appeared on the opposite shore, running and shouting. They were all armed with a spear or lance, and made signs of invitation. The captain, however, seeing that they were discovered, made haste to put to sea, and passed the natives as near as possible, who were naked and black. Numbers were observed just peeping over the hills, to have a view of the strangers, or probably kept back, lest they should alarm them.



The coast, for some space, was high and woody, but in the course of the night it changed all at once, and exhibited nothing but a low sandy strand, with little verdure, or any indications of its being habitable by man. Several small islands lay near the shore, some of which were beautiful spots, well covered with trees and surrounded by shoals of fish.

In passing between one of these islands and the main, they saw a small party of Indians running and waving green branches of trees, in sign of friendship. At a little distance a more numerous body of them was perceived coming down to the beach, but though the captain laid the boat close to the rocks, none of them would venture within two hundred yards of the English. It is likely they feared that treachery which, it was too probable, they meditated themselves.

Soon after Captain Bligh came up to an island of a pretty considerable elevation, where he resolved to land. This was effected without much difficulty, and two parties were sent out to seek for supplies. On their return, their fatigue and distress got the better of their reason and their duty: they began to murmur and complain; and one person, with a mutinous look, told the captain he thought himself as good a man as he. To curb this licentious spirit at once, was a duty incumbent on the commander. He seized a cutlass, and bid the mutineer defend himself. This resolute conduct in the captain had the happiest effect. Concessions were instantly made, and harmony restored.

On this island, which was about two miles in circuit, they found a considerable quantity of rain water, and some fine oysters and clams round the shores, with a few small dog-fish. Having collected



lected whatever it supplied, they now began to think of departing; and after a hearty dinner of stewed oysters, clams, and a kind of small bean, which they discovered here, a species of dolichos, they named this place Sunday Island, and proceeded to a key in the northwest quarter.

Here they observed recent tracks of turtle, and were not without hopes of finding some. Innumerable birds of the noddy kind resorted thither, and, on the whole there was an appearance of more abundant supplies than had yet fallen in their way. Parties were accordingly sent out; but they returned mortified and disappointed. Mr. Nelson, who headed one, was brought back in the most alarming condition. He complained of a violent heat in his bowels, a loss of sight, and universal lassitude. It seems he had exerted himself beyond his strength; but on giving him a little wine, and laying him in the shade to rest, he began to recover. Others complained of sickness, and were shockingly distressed with the tenebrius. An idea began to prevail that some had poisoned themselves with eating the dolichos, and as they gorged themselves with almost everything that fell in their way, it was really providential that they escaped so well.

In their walk round this spot, they saw the remains of a wigwam and some cocoa-nuts and turtle shells, from whence it was clear, that the natives sometimes resorted thither; and though none were now observed in the vicinity, the captain thought it prudent to order the fire to be made under cover, lest they should be discovered. However, while he was taking a walk along the beach, on a sudden the island appeared in a blaze, and running to the station, he found that one of



the men had been obstinate, and imprudent enough to insist on having a fire to himself, in making which, the flame caught the grass and spread rapidly. This might have been attended with the most fatal consequences, had the natives been on the coast.

In the evening, a turtling party was sent out, which underwent the utmost fatigue without the least success. Those, however, who had been sent out to catch birds, returned with about a dozen noddies; but so little discretion had they used in keeping quiet, and attending to orders, that they certainly defeated their own purpose. One man, who had separated from the rest, after he arrived at Batavia, owned that he had actually caught and eaten nine birds in private.

Early in the morning of June 2d, they proceeded on their voyage, and passed several keys, clothed with small trees and brush wood, which, contrasted with the sandy hills on the main land, had a very picturesque effect. As they advanced, the coast assumed a variety of features, and they passed many keys and islands before they could get clear of the main. On the evening of the 4th of June, they were once more launched into the open ocean; and miserable as their situation was, habit had reconciled them to it, and brought them to consider their boat as adapted to any navigation they had to encounter. This confidence was a fortunate circumstance; they had the utmost reliance on the captain's skill, and when he would have been inclined to doubt of himself, the favourable opinion of his men inspired him with new resolution to serve them by perseverance.

They had been six days on the coast of New  
Holland,



Holland, in the course of which they had procured some temporary supplies; and what was of no less consequence, they had enjoyed rest, to which they had long been strangers. Their strength was somewhat increased, and as it was supposed that they might reach the friendly Port of Timor in eight or ten days more, this idea gave new vigour to their efforts, and new hope to their prospects.

On the 6th they were visited by several boobies, one of which was caught, and the blood was divided, as a cordial, among three of the men who were most feeble. The flesh was shared for dinner next day. Even such a relief as this was not unimportant.

The night of the 7th was miserably wet and cold, and the sea broke over them with great fury. The company, unable to support the inclemency of the weather, so well as at first, were evidently giving way to the pressure of calamity. Some began to feel an unconquerable inclination to sleep, a proof that nature was exhausted; and others shewed a stupid apathy. The captain, seeing their melancholy situation, distributed a few tea-spoonfuls of wine among them, and having the prospect of a speedy voyage, their scanty allowance of bread was somewhat increased.

On the 9th they had the good fortune to catch a small dolphin, of which each person had two ounces, including the offals, and the rest was reserved for another meal.

The succeeding night was extremely unfavourable, and the complaints of the crew increased. The surgeon and Lebogue, an old hardy seaman, were almost ready to drop; and anxiously as he wished it, the captain had no means of alleviating their distresses, except by giving them a very



small quantity of wine at long intervals; as he wished to use the only cordial they had with the most frugal economy.

About this time, gannets, boobies, men of war and tropic birds, constantly furrounded them, and rock weed began to appear. These unerring signs of land assisted to support them under their present ills. Indeed, had this prospect been very distant, it was impossible they could have held out. The most alarming symptoms of approaching dissolution were observed. Fatuity, debility, and a propensity to sleep, were the melancholy presages of death not remote.

The captain still possessed a great share of spirits; but it seems he looked as ill as the rest. The boatswain innocently told him he thought he appeared worse than any of them; but he had fortitude and good humour enough to return this honest man a better compliment.

At last, very early in the morning of the 12th of June, to their unspeakable joy, they discovered the land of Timor. They were almost frantic with the transports of delight; and had this been the sight of their native land, instead of one of the most remote settlements of the east, it could scarcely have given them more pleasurable sensations. It was now forty-one days since they had left Tofoa, during which they had run through every peril and distress, without a single death. By their log, the distance appeared to be three thousand six hundred and eighteen miles; a space that perhaps was never passed before in so small a vessel, and with such a slender supply of every necessary.

The captain had but an indistinct idea in what part of Timor the Dutch settlement lay; but he fortunately



fortunately supposed it was in the south-west part of the island.

In running along the shore, the country exhibited many cultivated and beautiful scenes; and next day they saw several smokes.

The crew became impatient to land. They forgot that the Indians of Timor might be just as dangerous as those of any other coast; and it required all the arguments the captain could use to allay their impetuous desire. Every sign of cultivation, every bay where a landing was practicable, they eyed with regret as they passed.

Having surmounted the dangers of a sea that ran very high, on the 14th they came in sight of a spacious sound with an entrance two or three miles wide. No place could appear more eligible for shipping, or more likely to be chosen for an European settlement than this. The captain therefore resolved to examine it, and came to a grapple on the east side of the entrance, near which he saw a hut, a dog, and some cattle.

The boatswain and gunner immediately landed in search of the inhabitants, and in a short time returned with some Indians, who treated them with European politeness. From these people it was discovered, that the governor resided at a place called Coupang, and one of them was prevailed on, by the promise of a reward, to step into the boat and direct them to the spot.

These Indians were of a dark tawny colour, and had long black hair. They wore a square piece of cloth round their loins, and had a handkerchief wrapped round the head. They presented the English with a few ears of Indian corn, and some dried turtle: it is probable they would have brought other supplies, had time been allowed



lowed them ; but the captain resolved to push on under the guidance of the native who had undertaken to conduct them, and after a few hours of the sweetest sleep that man ever enjoyed, they proceeded to Coupang.

The firing of two cannon gave them new life, and in the morning of the 14th, they came to a grapnel off a small fort and town, which their pilot told them was Coupang.

Having hoisted a signal of distress, a soldier hailed them to land ; and they had the good fortune to meet an English sailor who belonged to one of the ships in the road. The captain, he said, was the second person in the town, and to him Captain Bligh desired to be introduced, as he heard the governor was extremely ill.

Captain Spikerman received them with the greatest humanity, and immediately gave directions for their reception at his own house, and went himself to inform the governor of their misfortunes, and present melancholy situation,

No powers of imagination could paint with due effect the mixture of horror, surprise, and pity with which the people of Timor beheld them, or the ghastly looks of the English, and the eyes of famine sparkling at the prospect of relief. Their bodies were nothing but skin and bones ; their limbs were full of sores ; they were covered with rags ; and in fact, the dismal spectacle they exhibited, must have inspired the mingled sensations of pity and disgust.

The governor, William Adrian van Este, was dying of an incurable disease, and he had only at intervals a few moments of ease, when he was capable of attending to any thing. Nevertheless he admitted Captain Bligh, and sympathizing in his distress,



trefs, expressed the satisfaction it gave him to live to have it still in his power to alleviate the calamities of the English. He recommended the captain to the best offices of his son-in-law, Mr. Wanjon, who was second of Coupang, and not Captain Spikerman, as the sailor had represented. The only vacant house in the town was hired for their reception, and was provided with every thing that could render their situation comfortable. The governor pressed Captain Bligh to state his wants without reserve, and they should be gratified. In a word, this gentleman seems to have possessed every feeling that can do honour to human nature; and sorry we are, that he did not live to know the grateful sense which the English nation entertained of his zeal in the cause of their distressed countrymen. But his reward has attended him: the consciousness of benevolence, perhaps soothed the dying hour.

When the captain returned from this interview with the governor, he had the pleasure to find, that the surgeon of the place had been sedulous in his attention to the sick, and that the generosity of different people had enabled the company to make a decent appearance. They were all provided with a handsome dinner; and, considering their starving situation, they used as much moderation in eating and drinking as could be expected.

The captain dined with Mr. Wanjon, who fully entered into the benevolent views of the governor, and proved, by his manner, that he did not consider the offices of humanity as a task, but a pleasure.

Notwithstanding the small quantity of provisions with which they set out from Tofoa, when they reached



reached Coupang, they had enough remaining to have lasted for eleven days more, in which space they might have reached Java, had they failed here. This prudent economy of the captain deserves every praise; for had it been less strictly observed, however painful the task must have been to him, it is improbable that any of them could have ever reached a port. Indeed there is every reason to believe, that the mutineers thought themselves infallibly secure from detection, and could least of all expect that the account of their villanies should so soon reach their native land.

“When I reflect,” says Captain Bligh, “how providentially our lives were saved at Tofoa, and that, with scarce any thing to support life, we crossed a sea of more than twelve hundred leagues, without any shelter from the inclemency of the weather; when I reflect, that in an open boat, with so much stormy weather, we escaped foundering, that not one of us was taken off by disease, and that we had the good fortune to pass the unfriendly natives of other countries, without accident, and at last to meet with the most friendly and best of people to relieve our distresses; when I reflect, I say, on all these wonderful escapes, the remembrance of such signal mercies, enables me to bear with cheerfulness and resignation, the failure of an expedition, whose success I had much at heart, and which was frustrated at a time, when I was congratulating myself on the fairest prospect of being able to complete it in a manner that would fully have answered the benevolent intention of his majesty, and the honourable promoters of such a beneficial plan.”

By the humane attention of the principal persons at Coupang, they were not long without  
evident



evident signs of convalescence; and to secure their arrival at Batavia before the departure of the October fleet for Europe, Captain Bligh purchased a small schooner for one thousand rix dollars, and fitted her for sea under the name of the *Resource*.

On the 20th of July, departed this life, Mr. David Nelson; a man universally respected for his scientific knowledge, and his patient fortitude. He was cut off by an inflammatory fever, after surmounting so many difficulties, and in the midst of thankfulness for his deliverance. Next day he was interred with all possible solemnity, in the European burial ground belonging to Coupang.

Every thing being ready for the prosecution of their voyage, on the 20th of August, they took leave of their benefactors, and sailed from this port. Mr. Wanjon had supplied the captain with money on government account, to enable him to proceed to Batavia; and Mr. Max, the town surgeon, behaved with such disinterested humanity, that he refused any gratuity for his attendance, and observed that he had done no more than his duty. To record such instances of generosity to those in distress, is the most delightful province of the historian.

On the 1st of October they arrived in safety at Batavia: but scarcely had the captain adjusted matters for landing his men, when he was seized with a violent fever. On the 7th he was carried into the country, to the physician general's house, where the governor general assured him that he should be accommodated with every attendance and comfort that could accelerate his recovery. He was, however, advised



to quit the unhealthy climate of Batavia without delay, and to facilitate this, the governor gave him leave to embark on board the *Ubjdt Packet*, together with Mr. Samuel and a servant.

Having taken all due care of the unfortunate partners in his calamities, and obtained a promise that they should be sent to Europe as soon as possible, the captain left Mr. Fryer to superintend them, and to settle the accounts with the *sabandar*; and on the 16th of October went on board the packet, which arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 16th of December.

Next morning Captain Bligh went on shore, and was received in the most polite and friendly manner by M. Vander Graaf, the governor. Here he began to feel his usual health returning, and having dispatched letters to the different oriental settlements of the English, containing a brief account of his transactions, and a description of the pirates, on the 2d of January 1790, he re-embarked on board the packet, and without any memorable occurrence arrived in the British Channel, and was landed at Portsmouth by a boat from the Isle of Wight on the 14 of March.

Of the officers and men, left at Batavia, two died, and the surgeon never returned; one did not live to reach Europe; but of nineteen, whom the mutineers forced into the launch, twelve revisited their native land. Such was the issue of a voyage which, in its general circumstances, is almost without parallel; its object was most benevolent, the event disastrous to all. The ways of Providence are dark and unsearchable; but the unfortunate innocent may be assured of impartial justice at last.



HISTORICAL NARRATIVE  
OF  
*LORD MACARTNEY'S*  
EMBASSY TO CHINA.

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THE official account of Lord Macartney's embassy to China, so long announced for publication, being still delayed, it becomes necessary for us to use the most authentic materials that circumstances will allow. Fortunately, the great outline of the narrative we have followed, has been confirmed by those who have trod in the same path, and were embarked in the same voyage. Every man may describe what he saw, and detail what he knew. More is not pretended to be done. This explanation we thought due; and, we flatter ourselves, it may serve to remove prejudice against what has not the stamp of authority, and to conciliate attention.

Every arrangement having been made to ensure the success, and add to the splendor and accommodation of an embassy which had long engaged a considerable share of the public attention, Lord Macartney, with his whole suite, went on board the *Lion*, at Spithead, September 21, 1792; and, on the 29th of the same month, says our narrator, we took our final departure, accompani-



ed by the Hindostan East Indiaman, and the Jackall brig.

Nothing particular happened for some days, except that the Jackall parted company in a gale of wind, in the Bay of Biscay, and did not rejoin us till after we had left Batavia.

On the 10th of October, we made land; passed the Desert Island and Porto Sancto; and next day cast anchor in Funchal Bay, in the Island of Madeira.

Lieutenant Campbell having been sent to the Governor of the Madeiras, to notify the ambassador's arrival, salutes of guns were interchanged between the Lion and the garrison. Soon after, the British consul, attended by several English gentlemen and merchants, came to pay their respects to his excellency, and to invite him on shore.

Having accepted the invitation, the yard arms were manned, during his lordship's passage from the ship to the shore; salutes were repeated; and at the landing-place, the Governor of the Madeiras, the British consul, and the principal inhabitants, received the ambassador with every mark of esteem and congratulation. During his stay, he was splendidly entertained by the British consul and the governor, on successive days; and before his departure, had the honour of a visit, in return, on board the Lion, from all the most distinguished persons of the island.

We took our leave of Madeira on the 18th of October, and on the 21st anchored in Santa Cruz Bay in the Isle of Teneriffe.

The Peak of Teneriffe is well known to be one of the highest mountains in the world; and it presents a number of objects, which the curious enquirer into nature can never cease to contemplate with



with admiration. It rises in the centre of the island, and its ascent from Santa Cruz may be about twenty miles. Some of the principal gentlemen of the embassy, with attendants, resolved to visit the Peak. I happened to be of the party. We set out on the morning of the 24th, prepared and equipped for the expedition, and furnished with guides; but after encountering a series of dangers, night coming on, we determined to take up our lodging at the bottom of the peak, to which we were now advanced, and to renew our journey in the morning. At an early hour we again set out; but were obliged, by the innumerable difficulties and dangers we encountered, to relinquish the gratification of reaching the summit. After a fatiguing excursion of two days, we returned to Santa Cruz; and, on the 27th, we bid adieu to the Canaries.

The Cape de Verd Islands lay next in our route; and Port Praya Bay, in the Isle of St. Jago, received us on the 2d of November.

The town of Praya is chiefly remarkable for the advantage of its port, where outward-bound ships of all nations frequently touch.

On the 1st of December we came to anchor in Rio Janeiro harbour, in the Brasils; where we found an opportunity of transmitting letters to England by a South Sea whaler.

Next day, an officer was dispatched to announce the ambassador's arrival to the viceroy. Being then at his country residence, the usual salutes were suspended; however, the deputy viceroy came in state next morning, to compliment Lord Macartney; but his lordship being much indisposed, was unable to receive him in person, Sir George Staunton and Sir Erasmus Gower,



therefore, represented his excellency on this occasion. The day following, the deputy viceroy, in the name of his principal, congratulated his excellency, the ambassador, on his arrival, and made a tender of a house for his residence during his stay.

This obliging offer being accepted, on the 7th, at noon, his lordship proceeded on shore with the usual formalities, and was received with all possible distinction by the viceroy, attended by his guards, and the most distinguished persons of the place. After taking some refreshment at the viceroy's palace, the ambassador, and the principal gentlemen of his suite, were accommodated with carriages to convey them to the house destined for their reception, about two miles distant from the city.

On the 10th, Lord Macartney, with his whole suite, paid a ceremonial visit to the viceroy. In the evening, his lordship and attendants took a walk in the public garden, the usual amusement, and the scene of the principal entertainment of the inhabitants of the place.

The following day, the viceroy, in grand procession, returned Lord Macartney's visit. A discharge of artillery announced the moment of his departure from his palace. The ambassador stood ready to receive him on his arrival; and after conducting him to the chief apartment, presented the principal gentlemen of the embassy, who were all respectfully noticed by the viceroy. An elegant repast concluded the visit.

The viceroy's dress was very splendid. It was scarlet cloth embroidered with gold and precious stones. His attendants, in general, wore a livery of green and gold.

Lord



Lord Macartney, being still under indisposition, privately returned on board the *Lion*, on the afternoon of the 15th; and every preparation having been made for renewing our voyage, we left the Harbour of Rio Janeiro on the 18th.

On the last day of the old year we reached the Island of Tristão de Cunha, a barren and almost inaccessible rock, near the centre of the Southern Ocean. Uninhabited by men, it is the resort of a prodigious variety of marine fowls; and its surrounding seas abound in whales and other tenants of the deep. An officer being sent on shore in the cutter, reported that the beach was favourable, and that fresh water was plenty.

Next morning, January 1, 1793, it was intended to send out a watering party; and another on natural and philosophical researches. Both schemes were frustrated. A heavy gale came on at midnight; and had not the wind providentially changed, at a moment of imminent danger, our destruction would have been inevitable.

During many successive days the weather was generally moderate; and a month passed away without our seeing land. On the 1st of February, however, we discovered the Isle of Amsterdam, in latitude 30 deg. 43 min. south, and longitude 77 deg. 20 min. east. We came to anchor on the east side of this island; and found here five seal hunters from the Isle of France. They had mutually engaged to spend eighteen months on this unpropitious spot; six were already elapsed; and during that period, it seems, they had killed no fewer than eight thousand seals. These men, with the utmost civility, escorted us to a hut they had built; and served as our conductors round



their usurped domain. They had formed a path, with incredible labour, over a mountain, crowned with a volcano, which throws out a substance resembling saltpetre. In ascending this path, we found a small spring of boiling hot water, in which some fish were perfectly dressed in a few minutes. The whole island, which is about eight miles long and six broad, has a volcanic appearance; and produces neither tree nor shrub. Vast quantities of fish were caught here, and salted for use; many species were very delicate, particularly lobsters.

The night of our departure being dark, afforded us an opportunity of contemplating one of the most awful spectacles in nature. The flames of the volcano were seen rising from six distant openings. Whether this was its usual appearance, or only one of its occasional eruptions, we had no opportunity of ascertaining.

On the 18th, we came in sight of the Trial Rocks. They scarcely rise above the surface of the deep; but the waves dash against them with so much impetuosity, that they run mountains high. This fortunately marks the situation of these formidable rocks, and in reality lessens the danger by magnifying its appearance.

Soon after, we entered the Straights of Sunda; and, on the 6th of March, arrived in the Road of Batavia, where we immediately received the salutes of all the English ships, and of one French vessel. Early next morning, the garrison fired a salute, which was returned; and soon after, a deputation from the governor general waited on Lord Macartney, to invite him on shore.

His lordship having resolved to land on the 8th, which was the anniversary of the birth-day  
of



of the Prince of Orange, a royal salute was fired in honour of the day; and afterwards the ambassador went on shore, with the usual ceremonies and attendants. The Royal Batavian Hotel was fixed on for the residence of the suite; and, in the afternoon, the baggage was safely landed before the door. This hotel is an elegant and spacious structure, and was built at the public expence, for the accommodation of occasional visitors of distinction. The style of living here is expensive; European liquors of every description being at a very high price; but when it is considered, that the landlord is obliged to import them from Europe, and pays an annual rent to government of sixty thousand rix dollars, it may reasonably be supposed, that the profits must be great, to counterbalance his risk and certain outgoings.

The Prince of Orange's birth-day was kept with those demonstrations of joy, which are justly paid to the supreme head, in every country in which society has been formed, and civilization has taken place. The governor general gave a splendid entertainment to the principal persons in Batavia, at his country residence, to which Lord Macartney went by invitation. A ball and supper concluded the fête, and mirth and festivity were prolonged beyond the hours of night.

The uninteresting occurrences of every day, during our stay at Batavia, would fail to entertain: they were marked with little variety.

Batavia, the oriental emporium of the Dutch, is the principal city in the Island of Java: it is almost square, surrounded by high walls and gates, and protected by forts, which are well garrisoned. The streets are spacious, and well paved; the



the buildings, in general, are uniformly elegant; and through every principal street runs a canal of considerable width, lined on both sides with trees of perennial leaves. In a climate so intolerably hot, this furnishes an agreeable refreshment; but, perhaps, the quantity of stagnant, or slow moving, water, thus collected, increases the natural insalubrity of the place. Indeed, so fatal is the climate of Batavia to Europeans, that scarcely one in twenty revisits his native land; and those who escape death there, carry with them emaciated forms and debilitated constitutions to the grave. From the registers of the public hospital, it appears, that the average number of deaths, annually, in that single receptacle of misery, does not amount to much less than five thousand. But what opinion shall we form of Dutch policy, when we learn, that no means are used to prevent the fatal effects of the climate; that, on the contrary, filth and putrid substances every where lie unremoved and unregarded, particularly in the suburbs, till the air is contaminated to the last degree, and destruction almost inevitable. It has, however, been said, that this negligence arises from political considerations; and that a climate, naturally unpropitious, is purposely rendered more deleterious, by a total inattention to cleanliness, lest too many adventurers should be tempted to share the golden harvest which this country so abundantly presents. The population of Batavia, however, is nevertheless very considerable; amounting, at a moderate calculation, to two hundred thousand souls, of whom a majority are Chinese. These chiefly inhabit the suburbs, or Chinese Town, and appear to be an industrious and regular people. They carry on a variety of trades



trades and manufactures; for Europeans think it beneath them to engage in mechanical operations.

The Malays are also very numerous in Batavia, and possess all the malignant qualities that so universally adhere to that ferocious race of men. Nothing but constant severity, it is said, can keep them within the bounds of duty; and we witnessed some instances of rigour in punishment, almost carried to barbarity.

Adapted to the depravity of the people, in general, is the nature of the government of Batavia. It is arbitrary in a high degree; and the rigour, with which every species of delinquency is punished, can only find a justification in the ferocious disposition, and the base propensities of the natives.

Soon after his landing, Lord Macartney being seized with a fit of the gout, put a stop to all the festivities which were intended to fill up the time of our stay. Several gentlemen of his suite also fell ill, in less than a week after our arrival; and to facilitate their recovery, they were ordered on board their respective ships.

During our stay here, a party of us attended the theatre. The play was the tragedy of Mahomet; and the entertainment, Barnaby Rudge. The audience seemed vastly amused; but not understanding the language, we could form no idea of the merits of the performance, except from the attitudes and expression of the actors, which seemed to be correct and impressive.

We left Batavia on the 16th.

The Jackall brig being now given up for lost, Lord Macartney had purchased a French vessel at Batavia to supply her place, and gave her the name of the Clarence. The Clarence, however, had



had only joined us the day before we received some intelligence of the Jackall, by a ship from Ostend to Batavia; and this intelligence was confirmed by the brig joining us on the 23d, to the great joy of the whole embassy.

On the 29th, we lost one of our crew, of the name of Leighton. He had gone ashore to wash his linen, at Sumatra beach, and was found covered with wounds, and murdered by the Malays. To the savage disposition of these people, this event gave an additional, though melancholy, testimony. The last rites were paid to the body of the deceased with the utmost decency and respect; and the feelings of the whole ship's company, on the occasion, were the best eulogium on his character and conduct.

Lord Macartney signified his intention of going on shore in the afternoon of this day, to view the spot where the Honourable Colonel Cathcart was buried. This gentleman had been honoured with a similar appointment, to negotiate with the Emperor of China for the interests of his country; but his premature death put an end to that diplomatic attempt.

Passing a variety of islands, without any occurrence worthy of remark, we came to anchor in Pulo Condore Bay, May 16th. Soon after our arrival, a party of gentlemen, accompanied by one of the Chinese interpreters, went on shore. Some of the natives met us on the beach, with whom we proceeded till we came, at a small distance, to a village of bamboo huts; one of which was the residence of the chief, whose authority extended over the whole island. Like the rest, his habitation was formed of bamboo, raised on four posts, a few feet from the ground. Here we found



found several natives of Cochin China, who wore no other dress but a piece of linen round their waists, and a black turban on their heads. The chief was habited in a loose black gown, and a pair of black silk trowsers. He was also decorated with a silver cord thrown over his shoulder, from which a small bag of elegant workmanship was suspended. In common with the rest, he wore a turban, but no shoes. He appeared to be the object of very great respect.

Near his palace, if it may be so called, stood the temple. Externally, it resembled the other buildings; but the inside was adorned with various military weapons of Europe, particularly some old firearms, of which they evidently did not know the use, and seemed to consider them only as objects of veneration. The discharge of a musket against a tree, excited the most lively alarm and astonishment. They eagerly examined the place where the ball entered; they even contrived to extract it, and then presented it to each other, with the most visible emotion.

Having entered into a treaty with the chief for a supply of buffaloes, poultry, and fruit, with which he was to furnish us the next day, we were regaled with rice and fish. Finding that cocoa-nuts would be acceptable, he immediately ordered some to be procured for us. The dexterity these people shewed in climbing the trees that produced them, is astonishing. On our return to the ship, we observed caves on the beach very ingeniously constructed.

Pulo Condore is but thinly peopled. The means of subsistence are difficult; and population, of course, must be influenced thereby. This island is subject to the King of Cochin China.

To



To our utter astonishment, on landing next morning, to receive the stipulated supply of provisions, we found the village deserted, and every moveable carried off. A letter, in Chinese characters, left in the hut of the chief, explained the reasons of this sudden and unexpected movement. It seems, they were apprehensive we meditated hostilities against them, from our ships coming to anchor in their bay; they earnestly implored us to spare their humble dwellings, which they intended to re-occupy on our departure; and dwelt on their poverty, which they, perhaps, concluded was their best protection, and the strongest argument to allay European rapacity.

Being obliged to set sail without our expected supply, we left Pulo Condore on the 18th, and passing several islands of different forms and magnitudes, we anchored in Turon Bay, in Cochin China, on the evening of the 26th.

Soon after our arrival, the ambassador received a visit from several mandarins, who came in great state. They were liberally entertained; but at first seemed averse to taste the wines and other liquors which were set before them. This reserve appearing to arise from fear, Lord Macartney set them an example, when they indulged very freely; shewing a particular predilection for cherry and raspberry brandy. These chiefs wore nearly the same kind of dress as we have described at Pulo Condore, except that they had a girdle of silver cordage. Their domestics were clad in a fancy dress, resembling tartan; and their legs and feet were wholly bare.

Intelligence of our arrival having reached the court, in the evening of the 29th, the prime minister of the King of Cochin China, attended by several



several mandarins, came, in his majesty's name, to invite the ambassador to dinner. His excellency obligingly accepted the invitation, but postponed the day to the 4th of June.

In the interim, he received a present from the king, consisting of a great number of buffaloes, hogs, fowls, ducks, some bags of rice, and some jars of samptsoo, a Chinese liquor, reckoned very delicious.

We visited the town of Fie-Foo, while we lay here. It is nothing but an assemblage of wretched bamboo huts; but it has a good market; and were the industry of the natives equal to the fertility of the soil, this place would be remarkably abundant. They seem, however, to have little knowledge of agriculture: they subsist, therefore, chiefly on the spontaneous produce of the earth; and make their women a principal branch of their trade. For a certain consideration, they are always ready to consign them to the society of Europeans who touch here, without any apparent sense of impropriety. In one of our excursions to the shore, we saw six elephants performing a variety of unwieldy feats, for the entertainment of the mandarins who had assembled here.

The 4th of June, the birth-day of our most gracious sovereign, was observed with every mark of loyalty and attachment. The morning was ushered in with a salute of twenty-one guns; the royal standard of Great Britain, the St. George's ensign, and the union, were all displayed at their appropriate stations. In honour of this day, so dear to Britons, wherever placed, Lord Macartney had fixed his landing. Several mandarins waited his arrival on shore; and attended him, under an escort of his own troops, to the residence of the



prime minister. A collation was here provided for him, consisting of all the dainties the country afforded; after partaking of which, he returned on board, interchanging mutual civilities with his hosts.

Thus far affairs proceeded to the satisfaction of all parties in Cochin China; but the master of the *Lion*, who had gone in the cutter to take soundings in the bay, having unreflectingly begun to survey the coast, was immediately seized, with seven men who accompanied him, and carried prisoners to the capital.

When we first received this disagreeable intelligence, the impression it made is not easily conceived. It was not only the danger to which our countrymen had exposed themselves, that affected the embassy; but as this kingdom is tributary to China, it was feared, that a representation of this inconsiderate conduct, as to them it might appear criminal, would have an injurious effect on all our future proceedings; and that the object so much at heart—to inspire confidence, would be changed into suspicion and alarm. The good offices of the friendly mandarins were instantly and earnestly solicited. One of the interpreters was sent on shore, to promote an enquiry and furnish an explanation: and on the 13th, we had the happiness to see the master and his men return in safety, after an absence of six days. What they suffered, during this period of suspense, cannot well be described. Nothing but a respect for the country to which they belonged, and a regard to the mission on which they were employed, could have saved them from certain death.

This was not the only unpleasant event that befel us here. We lost a respectable gentleman, the



the purser of the *Lion*, who died, after a few days illness, on the 12th, and was interred on shore with all possible solemnity and respect. An inscription, cut in wood, was placed on his grave.

Having left Cochin China on the 16th of June, the *Jackall* and *Clarence* brig, with Sir George Staunton and one of Lord Macartney's secretaries, were dispatched to Macao, on the 20th. These gentlemen were charged with letters to the commissioners sent from England, to notify the intended embassy. The two Chinese interpreters took this opportunity of proceeding to revisit their relations and friends, from whom they had been long separated. In taking leave of our countrymen, they displayed a sensibility worthy of the most enlightened minds.

From the intelligence brought by Sir George Staunton, who rejoined us on the 23d, very flattering hopes were entertained of the success of the embassy. At a time when we were approaching the scene of negotiation, this news was highly gratifying.

During our passage up the Yellow Sea, we passed numerous islands. Several of the headlands, which in our charts were as yet without a name, received the appellations of some of the most distinguished members of the embassy.

July 21st, we cast anchor in Janganfoe Bay. Several officers were immediately sent in the cutter to Mettow, to reconnoitre the coast, and to ascertain if there were any practicable means of approaching nearer the capital on shipboard. The cutter returned on the 25th. They gave a very favourable report of the reception they had experienced from the Chinese; but reported, that it was absolutely impracticable to proceed farther,



on account of shoals and other natural impediments. It was therefore resolved to disembark; and a gentleman, accompanied by an interpreter, sailed in the cutter to Mettow, to make arrangements for this purpose. The mandarins promised to provide large junks for the reception of the suite and baggage, as soon as the wind proved favourable.

Soon after, we received a present of some bullocks and sheep, several hogs, poultry, vegetables, and other productions of the country. A principal mandarin also came on board the Lion, who finally settled the mode and the day of the debarkation. He was invited to dinner; but not being provided with his usual table appendages, he seemed to feel himself in an unpleasant situation. The Chinese neither use knives nor forks: whether we appeared most ridiculous to him, or he to us, it may be difficult to decide. He expressed the greatest admiration of the ship, and the various arrangements and conveniences he saw on board; but what seemed to delight him most, was his being hoisted into one of our boats in the accommodation chair.

The greatest part of the baggage having been previously put on board the junks, sent to receive it, on the 5th of August, several more came along-side the Lion to receive the remainder, and the suite. Before his excellency disembarked, the captain ordered the company to man ship; he was saluted with three cheers from the seamen, and a discharge of guns from the ships.

The junk intended for his lordship's reception, being found inconvenient and filthy, as indeed they all were, he quitted it and went on board the Clarence brig.

On



On this occasion, we occupied no fewer than twenty junks, of about a hundred tons burden; and proceeding slowly, from the various difficulties of the river, the whole fleet anchored opposite the palace of the principal mandarin in Mettow, in the afternoon of the same day.

This town, the first which we had seen in China, possessed none of those attractions that arise from the elegance of building, or the beauty of situation. It stands on a swampy spot, frequently overflowed by the sea, which no precaution of the inhabitants is able to prevent; and the houses or huts are wholly constructed of mud, covered with bamboo, without either floors or pavements. The residences of the mandarins, however, which lie at a small distance from the town, are built of stone and wood, three stories high, and are adorned with painting, gilding, and piazzas. They appear to contain a considerable number of apartments; each palace being furnished with projecting wings, which are generally of variously painted wood.

Guards, of both infantry and cavalry, attend each mandarin, and environ his palace with their tents.

The river here is of considerable breadth, but of small and unequal depth. Across its entrance runs a bank of sand. The surrounding country presents a flat expanse of rich soil and great fertility.

Van Tadge-In, a mandarin of the first class, being delegated by the emperor, to superintend the progress, and provide for the accommodation of the embassy, during its continuance in China, began the exercise of his functions, by furnishing us with junks, which were to convey us to Peking.



The important trust with which he was invested, proved his country's opinion of his abilities to execute it; and we had every reason to confirm the favourable decision it had passed. This distinguished personage was about the middle size, robust, and finely formed. The darkness of his complexion was relieved by a set of features expressive of intelligence and feeling; and his manners were at once conciliating and correct.

On the 6th of August, we received from the mandarin a quantity of beef, bread, and fruit. The beef was well flavoured, but not very fat. The bread, not being baked in the European mode, though made of excellent flour, was less agreeable to our taste. It was in fact little better than dough, being baked without an intermixture of yeast, which the Chinese are either unacquainted with, or reject its use. In shape and size, the loaves resemble a common wash-ball, divided in two. They are baked on bars ranged across an iron pan, in which is a certain quantity of water, and placed on an earthen stove. When the water begins to boil, the steam is confined by a shallow tub for a few minutes; and thus the business ends. This curious method of baking, or rather boiling, rendered it necessary for us to slice and toast the bread before we could relish it.

In the afternoon of the same day, we received a variety of meats, both roast and boiled. The roast meat appeared as if covered with an oily varnish, and tasted accordingly: the boiled was much more agreeable to our palates.

Perhaps we were a little prejudiced against Chinese cookery, from the accounts we had heard of their indifference in regard to animals killed on purpose, or by accident, or dying of disease.

It



It seems all are equally used. The reports that had reached our ears, in this respect, were confirmed by the evidence of our eyes. Some pigs, being infected with an incurable disorder, were thrown overboard; but the frugal Chinese instantly picked them up and dressed them; and while they were enjoying their unenvied feast, appeared to laugh at the English, for their fastidious delicacy.

The squadron received orders on the 7th, to return to Chusan harbour, and to wait for farther instructions.

That attention to established habits, which, though inimical to improvement, is a source of peace, has prevented the Chinese from making any alterations in their naval architecture for ages. Their junks are built of beech wood and bamboo, flat-bottomed, and of various sizes; and nearly a fourth part as broad as they are long. On the first deck of the larger vessels, employed in the navigation of rivers, is a range of apartments, consisting of bed rooms, parlour, and kitchen. The floor, from one end of the junk to the other, is full of hatches, which being lifted up by a brass ring, open a stowage below for immense quantities of stores or goods. The windows are formed of small squares of transparent paper; and the sashes may be taken out on occasion for the admission of air. A coloured curtain on the outside extends the whole length of the junk; and this is either furled or drawn, according to the pleasure or convenience of the passengers.

The main deck is laid out into chambers for the use of the crew. A gangway runs on both sides the vessel, so as to render the apartments private.



It is astonishing how little water these junks draw. Some of two or three hundred tons may be navigated with safety on the most shoally rivers. Most of them have only one mast, which, as well as the rudder, is clumsy and inelegant.

A very wise precaution is used in the navigation of the rivers of China. No sooner does it become dark, but a lighted lamp is suspended from the mast's head, as a signal of approach. Thus the danger of vessels running foul of each other is prevented. Besides, these lamps being formed of transparent paper, inscribed with Chinese characters, serve to announce the name of the junk, or the rank of its passengers. Other lights likewise are distributed round the vessel at night. During the day, silken flags are displayed, which being stamped with letters, answer the purpose of notification, the same as the lamps. These lights and flags have sometimes a grand and a novel effect.

The mandarin and his suite occupied five junks, and took the lead of the procession. His excellency the ambassador, and the principal gentlemen, had seven junks for their accommodation. The soldiers, mechanics, and servants, brought up the rear.

Every thing being ready, Lord Macartney took his leave of the principal mandarin at Mettow, on the morning of the 8th of August; and having received a very liberal supply of provisions, tea, sugar, vegetables, and fruit, together with a quantity of wood and charcoal—for mineral coal is not known here, nor did we find it was used in any part of this empire—the embassy proceeded up the river.



Words cannot express the effect the novel scene produced on our minds, as we passed through a country rich in the charms of nature and of art. Cultivation every where seemed to have exhausted its diligent resources. The fields were enriched with its toils, and presented a view of various crops, as luxuriant as fancy can conceive. Abundance of sheep and the most beautiful cattle were seen grazing in the meadows.

The gardens, on the course of the stream, appeared equally adapted for pleasure and utility; and however much Europeans may plume themselves on their superior knowledge of agriculture, gardening, and ornamental design, the Chinese, in most respects, would bear away the palm. Their taste, to our eyes, may be less chaste; but their diligence overcomes difficulties, which in most countries would appear insurmountable.

In this delightful voyage, the mandarin's guards marched by day along the banks of the river, and at night pitched their tents, where the junks lay at anchor. Both the fronts of the huts on land, and the vessels on the water, were decorated with lamps, and together formed an attractive sight.

The sentinels, who kept a regular watch during the night, were furnished with a piece of hollow bamboo, which they strike with a mallet at regular intervals, to signify their vigilance and activity. This custom, the peyings, or soldiers, informed us, was universally adopted by the Chinese army.

At an early hour next morning, the gongs gave the signal for sailing. These instruments are made of brass, something resembling the cover of a large culinary vessel; and when struck with a large mallet, covered with leather, produce a  
found



found that may be heard farther than the European trumpet or bell, in the room of which they are substituted.

With the usual supply of provisions, for the first time, we received a jar of the country wine. It possesses a good body; but the taste is sharp and unpleasant. In colour it resembles Lisbon wine.

Military honours are not unknown in China. In passing several populous towns, where soldiers were quartered, they were drawn up on the banks to receive the ambassador, while crowds of spectators filled every accessible spot of view.

The uniform of a Chinese soldier deserves description. It consists of black nankeen trousers, over which a kind of cotton stockings are drawn. Their shoes, which are also made of cotton, are extremely clumsy, broad at the toes, and furnished with immoderately thick soles. From the top of their trousers is suspended a purse, for their money. They have neither shirts nor waistcoats, but only a large black nankeen mantle with loose sleeves, turned up and fringed with red coloured cloth of the same fabric. A broad girdle confines this loose robe, ornamented in front with a kind of plate, said to be a composition of rice. A pipe, and bag for tobacco, hangs from this cincture on one side, and a fan on the other. These appendages, and a supply of tobacco, are allowed by the emperor. They wear their swords on the left side, with the point forwards. A bow is slung under the left arm, and a quiver on their backs generally contains twelve arrows. Many, however, carry firearms; and though it is impossible for the Chinese to teach Europeans any improvements in the arts of destruction, in the caution they employ to prevent accidents with artillery and



and muskets, they might give the wisest of us a lesson in the more commendable art of preservation.

The soldiers have a tuft of hair on the back of their head, which is plaited down the back, and tied at the extremity with a riband. The rest they shave. They cover their heads with shallow straw hats, bound under the chin, and decorated with a red plume of camel's hair. According to our ideas, little that looks like military, enters into the composition of a Chinese soldier's dress.

Their colours are commonly of green silk, edged with red, and painted with characters in gold. Of these they employ a great number.

In sailing up the river, we saw numbers of rustic habitations, chiefly constructed of mud, with some few of stone. The country women, with the curiosity natural to their sex, advanced to see the procession. They seemed to walk with difficulty; having their feet and ankles bound with a red fillet, to confine their growth. Their front hair is combed back on the crown of the head, and clubbed, and decorated with artificial flowers and silver pins; the hind hair is then brought up, and secured under the club. Except in regard to the decorations of the head, and the bandages on their feet, the dress of the Chinese women differs little from that of the soldiers.

Our progress was by no means rapid; but we were every moment attracted by some new objects, which prevented our wish for greater expedition. In the course of one day's sailing, which could not exceed twenty-four miles, we passed such an immense number of junks, and saw such crowds of people, as would almost exceed belief, did we attempt calculation. Independent of the moving scene,



scene, the river itself, spacious and meandering, was a noble object; and the diversity of its banks, and the views which occasionally opened over a rich and varied country, would have afforded a scope to the most glowing pencil.

For the first time, we saw the plantations of the tea-tree, on the 10th. This plant, so injurious to the constitution, and so captivating to the taste, which, from being originally an useless luxury, has now become a necessary in so many countries, has been well described by botanists, and a repetition here would be needless. We shall, however, observe that it is of a low size, with a narrow leaf, somewhat like myrtle. It was now the season when the tea-tree was in blossom. The blossoms are picked when young, and mixed with the tea, to which they communicate a more agreeable flavour. Plentiful as tea appears to be in this province, it is not within the reach of the lower classes, as the crew of the junks were glad to receive our tea leaves, which they dried and then boiled, to procure their favourite beverage. Tea is universally used in China without sugar; and as the natives, particularly the lower orders, frequently dry and reboil the leaves for some weeks successively, they unite economy with gratification; which would be salutary, if copied in Europe.

On the morning of the 11th, we approached the city of Tyen-Sing. The banks of the river here presented fields of millet and rice. The number of spectators that met us, both in vessels and by land, exceeds all calculation. For nearly two miles we observed a range of salt heaps, disposed in columns, and covered with matting; but whether manufactured on the spot, or for what purpose  
such



Such a prodigious quantity was collected, we were not able to ascertain.

The noise and shouts of an innumerable multitude of people attended our entrance into the city. This is a very populous and extensive place. The houses are built of brick, and are in general two stories high, covered with tiles; but the want of regularity offends the eye; and the streets are so uncommonly narrow, that not more than two persons can walk abreast.

Soon after our arrival, the ambassador, who was received with military honours, went in full form to visit the chief mandarin. His palace is large and lofty, palisadoed in front, gilt and painted in a very fanciful and expensive form. Even the external walls are decorated with paintings; and the roof is coated with a yellow varnish of brilliant effect. Here the ambassador and suite partook of a cold collation, at which all the dainties of the country were collected.

In honour of the distinguished visiter, a Chinese play was performed. The theatre is a square wooden structure, in the front of the mandarin's palace. The stage is surrounded with galleries, which were decorated with ribands and filken streamers.

The representations consisted of warlike manœuvres, varied by flight-of-hand deceptions, and a display of personal agility, in which the performers acquitted themselves with admirable adroitness. A band of music, consisting of wind instruments, enlivened the scene. The novelty of both pleased the eye, rather than delighted the ear. The female characters were performed by eunuchs: the delicacy of the Chinese would be



shocked at the public exhibition of their women.

When the ambassador and attendants returned on board, such an immense number of people accompanied them, in every kind of conveyance capable of floating, that accidents appeared inevitable. We were witnesses to one, where part of the deck of an old junk giving way, from the enormous pressure of spectators, consigned several persons to a watery grave.

A very liberal supply of provisions had been sent us before we embarked. Indeed, from the superabundance, we entertained the crews who navigated the junks; thus converting the hospitality of the country to the relief of the natives; for which mark of attention they testified a due sense of gratitude.

A present having been made of some parcels of silk by the mandarin, Tyen-Sing, to the embassy, an officer, by the direction of the ambassador, distributed them among his suite; but it not being possible for every one to have an equal share, it was determined, after two pieces were distributed to each of the gentlemen, the remainder should be disposed of by drawing lots, by which means every person, whether mechanic, servant, musician, or soldier, had an equal chance.

The weather had been excessively hot for some days; and at an early hour on the morning of the 12th of August, we were visited by a most tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, which is not unusual in this climate.

It was found necessary, during several hours this day, to employ men to tow the junks along. In China, numbers follow this laborious vocation,

to



to which they are called, when the wind or tide fails. A rope is fixed to the mast, and another to the head of the junk. These are of a length proportionable to the breadth of the river, and are fixed, one at each end, to a stick of about thirty inches long. This is thrown over the head and rests on the breast, forming a kind of harness. Every draughtsman is furnished with a similar apparatus, and when all are ready, the leader gives the signal to advance. The towers act in concert, and proceed with a measured step, which is regulated by a kind of musical tone, constantly repeated. The fatigue these useful drudges undergo would appear excessive to any but the Chinese; they wade through marshy banks, and stalk through muddy soil, with a perseverance that claims at once our pity and admiration.

Next day, when we received the usual supply of provisions, we set about cooking them ourselves; being perfectly disgusted with Chinese filthiness, in regard to their victuals. With respect to rice, however, they deserve the praise of cleanliness. They wash it well in cold water, and drain it through a sieve, then throw it into boiling water, and when pulpy, take it out with a ladle, and put it into another clean vessel, where it is suffered to remain till it becomes quite white and dry. In this form it is used for bread. Indeed, boiled rice, and sometimes millet, with vegetables, fried in oil, constitute the usual food of the lower class. They eat regularly every four hours of the day, and seldom vary their humble repast. Their tables are about a foot high; on them a large vessel of rice is placed, and each person, sitting on the floor, helps himself to a small basin. The vegetables are taken up with a couple of chop-sticks, and



eaten with the rice. On particular days a more genial diet is used. The usual beverage is a weak infusion of tea.

Amid the new and extraordinary things which, in such rapid succession, caught the view, perhaps the number of the inhabitants that every where presented themselves, was the most wonderful. It may be thought to border on the marvellous, but it is a certain fact that we could not pass fewer than four thousand junks in the course of this day.

We arrived at the city of Tong-tchew on the 16th of August, and here our voyage ended. This place is distant only twelve miles from Peking. Expectation was now roused, and some degree of anxiety awakened. We found an inclosure here, purposely erected, for the landing of the baggage and presents. It occupied nearly the space of an acre.

A temple was allotted for the residence of the embassy, during its stay at this place; and the whole suite, of every description, received an invitation from the grand mandarin to partake of a public breakfast, which was to be provided next morning. Accordingly, Lord Macartney and Sir George Staunton set out in two palanquins, and were escorted to the temple by a party of Chinese soldiers. The breakfast was composed of various made dishes, meat, tea, wines, fruit, and confectionary.

Every exertion was made to land the baggage and presents with speed and safety; and such emulation was displayed in this service, that most of it was lodged in the depôt before night. Two Chinese officers inspected every case and package at the gate of the inclosure, of which they appeared



peared to take a written account, and pasted marks corresponding with their minutes on every separate article. This, we understood, was done with a view of certifying the emperor of all that was brought into his dominions.

The temple, as it was called, appropriated for the residence of the embassy, though in fact it was the habitation of a timber-merchant, hired by the Chinese government for this purpose, is about a mile distant from the city. It is a neat, low building, of one story high; and consists of several courts, which were severally occupied by the soldiers, servants, ambassador and suite. The soldiers court was next the entrance. Beyond this was the servants quarter, opposite to which is a square building, of one room, consecrated to religious worship. In the middle of this stands an altar, supporting three porcelain statues, as large as life; and on each side are candlesticks, which are lighted whenever any person is paying his devotion, and regularly at morn and eve. Before the images stands a pot full of dust, into which a number of long matches are thrust, which are likewise lighted during the celebration of worship. The devotees having finished, the candles and the matches are extinguished, and an attendant on the altar strikes a bell thrice with a mallet. All persons present then kneel before the images, inclining their heads three times, with their hands clasped, which they lift over their heads as they rise. Such is the simple ceremony of the daily worship of the Chinese, invariably observed from the humblest to the highest, from the peasant to the emperor. This worship obtains the appellation of Chin-chin-josh, or the service of God. The meanest hut has its altar and



its image; nor is there a junk without those appendages. From the number of images, in places where the rites of religion are regularly performed, and the obeisances being thrice repeated, may we not discover a symbollic acknowledgment of the Christian Trinity? Truth, though obscured, is not quite obliterated, even in countries reputed Pagan. We see faint traces of revelation in India and in China, though wrapped up in the veil of mystery and allegory.

The court appropriated to the use of the ambassador and suite, was handsome and spacious, decorated with lamps, gildings, and other Chinese embellishments. A hundred various dishes were served up at his excellency's table for dinner. A number of Chinese crowded round, and seemed highly diverted with the display of European manners, so opposite to their own. Indeed Chinese servants were distributed in the different apartments, to be ready at any hour of the day, to supply the embassy with the various beverages of the country. These are chiefly tea, cold or warm.

The city of Tong-tchew is about six miles in circumference, almost square, surrounded by a high wall, to which an external ditch is added, in the most accessible spots. It has three gates, each well fortified, and may, altogether, be considered as a strong place.

The houses are almost universally of wood, of one story high, pretty with exterior decorations in the Chinese style; but most of them are destitute of furniture. The shop is the principal room. Before this are high pillars, supporting an awning, covered with painting and gilding, and decorated with streamers. These streamers indicate the commodities



commodities to be sold ; and sometimes a wooden figure is superadded, to direct to the spot.

In the form and size of the houses and shops there is very little variety ; the same plan prevails throughout the city in almost every respect. The streets indeed are of different breadths ; but all of them have a pavement on each side for the accommodation of foot passengers.

As a substitute for glass, a thin glazed paper is universally used in China : however, some of the palaces of the higher classes are furnished with silk to admit the light.

Tong-tchew seems to carry on a very extensive trade. An immense number of junks resort to it. The population is computed at nearly half a million.

The summers in this climate are very hot ; but the winters are in proportion severe, as appears by ice of vast thickness being preserved to cool the drink during the hot months. In China, ice is esteemed a peculiar luxury.

The shortness of our stay, and the ignorance of the language, rendered it extremely difficult to obtain any correct idea of the nature of the municipal government. It was, however, understood that civil causes were decided by a bench of the lower mandarins ; but their judgment was subject to the review of the principal mandarin, and even an appeal lay from him to the viceroy of the province.

The ultimate fate of capital offenders depends on the emperor alone, but death is seldom inflicted in China. Persons far advanced in years, confessed they had never seen or known a capital execution take place in their province. The mild manners,



manners, the sober virtues, of the Chinese in general, render punishments neither frequent nor severe. An exact police, however, is kept up, and delinquencies are expiated with promptitude and unerring certainty, if detected. Thus the hopes of pardon does not inspire a vicious confidence; and the extreme difficulty of preventing detection, operates as a powerful dissuasive from crime. The Chinese, however, seem to enjoy as much liberty of action as is reconcileable to the well-being of society; and peace and contentment bless their lives.

The curiosity of the people was very troublesome during our excursion round the city. We were frequently obliged to seek an asylum in the shops till the gazing multitude had dispersed.

The second day after our arrival, the ordnance and stores were examined, and a trial made of the guns in the presence of the ambassador. They were found to answer perfectly well.

In the evening his excellency was visited by the chief mandarin, accompanied by Van-Tadge-In. A band of music performed during his stay, with which the visitors seemed vastly pleased.

We had hitherto escaped without a death, or any very serious illness, in the embassy since we entered China; but this evening we lost Mr. Eades, one of the mechanics, by a violent flux. To impress the natives with a favourable idea of the solemnities of our funerals, Lord Macartney was pleased to direct that the deceased should be interred with military honours. In China, coffins are kept ready made. They are chiefly of the same size for all grown persons; are strong and very heavy; in shape somewhat like a flat-bottomed boat. The lid is secured with a cord instead of nails. Having  
procured



procured one of these receptacles of mortality, we placed the corpse in it with all possible decency. Next morning, orders were issued for the troops to appear with their side-arms, except a serjeant and six privates, who were appointed to fire a volley over the grave; and as there was no clergyman attached to the embassy, an attendant on his lordship was called on to officiate on this mournful occasion.

The procession, having been previously marshalled, proceeded slowly to the burying-ground, about a quarter of a mile's distance from the ambassador's residence. An immense concourse of spectators were allured by the novelty of the scene to accompany us. Perhaps the most splendid exhibition would not have procured a larger assembly. The body was committed to the ground with due solemnity; and the procession returned in the same order as it went.

In this country we observed that the graves were very shallow. They have memorials of marble and stone as with us, charged with inscriptions. Some of the monuments here exhibited traces of no ordinary sculpture. This receptacle of dust was of very considerable extent, but without walls. Except in the vicinity of large towns, there are no public burial grounds: in the country, the deceased repose within the precincts where they lived.

Several mandarins paid a visit of respect to the ambassador, and notified that the day following was appointed for the embassy's departure to Peking.

At a very early hour, on the morning of the 21st of August, the signal was given by beat of drum, to prepare for our departure. The soldiers

were



were first marched off, and then the servants; for both of whom covered waggon had been provided. The gentlemen of the suite followed in light carts, and Lord Macartney, Sir George Staunton, and the interpreter, had each a palanquin. In point of equipage and appearance, this procession was by no means equal to the diplomatic dignity of a great and powerful nation.

After leaving Tong-tchew, we entered a fine champaign country, through which we travelled on a road of uncommon breadth and beauty. A foot pavement, about six yards wide, occupied the centre, and on each side several carriages had room to run abreast. Roads of a similar description conduct to the capital from the principal towns of the empire; and these are kept in perfect repair by labourers regularly disposed, and constantly employed.

We reached the town of Kiyeng-Foo by seven in the morning. This is a large and populous place, and exhibits the appearance of commercial opulence. As it was most probably a matter of general notoriety, when we were to enter Peking, the concourse of people, who filled every accessible spot of view, and even crowded on us, notwithstanding all the exertions of the mandarins, considerably impeded our progress, and exceeded what we had hitherto seen of Chinese population. Yet, to our mortification, we observed, that our appearance excited rather ridicule than respect; and bursts of laughter accompanied every transient sight of us from our humble vehicles.

We stopped nearly an hour at Kiyeng-Foo, and received some refreshments of meats, tea, and fruits. Van-Tadge-In likewise ordered some jo-au, an unpleasant Chinese wine, to be distributed  
to



to the attendants of the embassy. This he did from the benevolent motive of enabling them to resist the calls of appetite till another opportunity offered of gratifying them, which at present could not be ascertained. Of the face of the country, between this town and Pekin, it is impossible to speak. Myriads of people intercepted our view.

We passed beneath several beautiful triumphal arches, on entering the suburbs of the metropolis. The magnificence they displayed, served only for a contrast to the unavoidable meanness of our appearance.

The houses in the suburbs are built of wood, two stories high, variously painted in front. The shops make a very respectable appearance. The streets are spacious; and on this occasion they were lined with soldiers, without whose assistance it would have been impossible for the cavalcade to have advanced.

At two in the afternoon we reached the gates of the imperial city of Pekin, or Pit-chin, as pronounced by the natives. The walls inclose a circumference of twelve leagues. At ten every night the gates are shut, and till dawn of day all communication is suspended between the city and the suburbs. During that space, a special order from the principal mandarin of the city is absolutely necessary to procure ingress or egress.

The walls are of great height, and of massy thickness; the foundation is of stone, but the superstructure is wholly of brick. Outworks and batteries, at short intervals, increase the strength of the walls, and forts are very frequent, but except at the gates, there are neither cannons nor guards. His imperial majesty generally resides  
here



here from October to April; and during that period, soldiers patrol the walls every night.

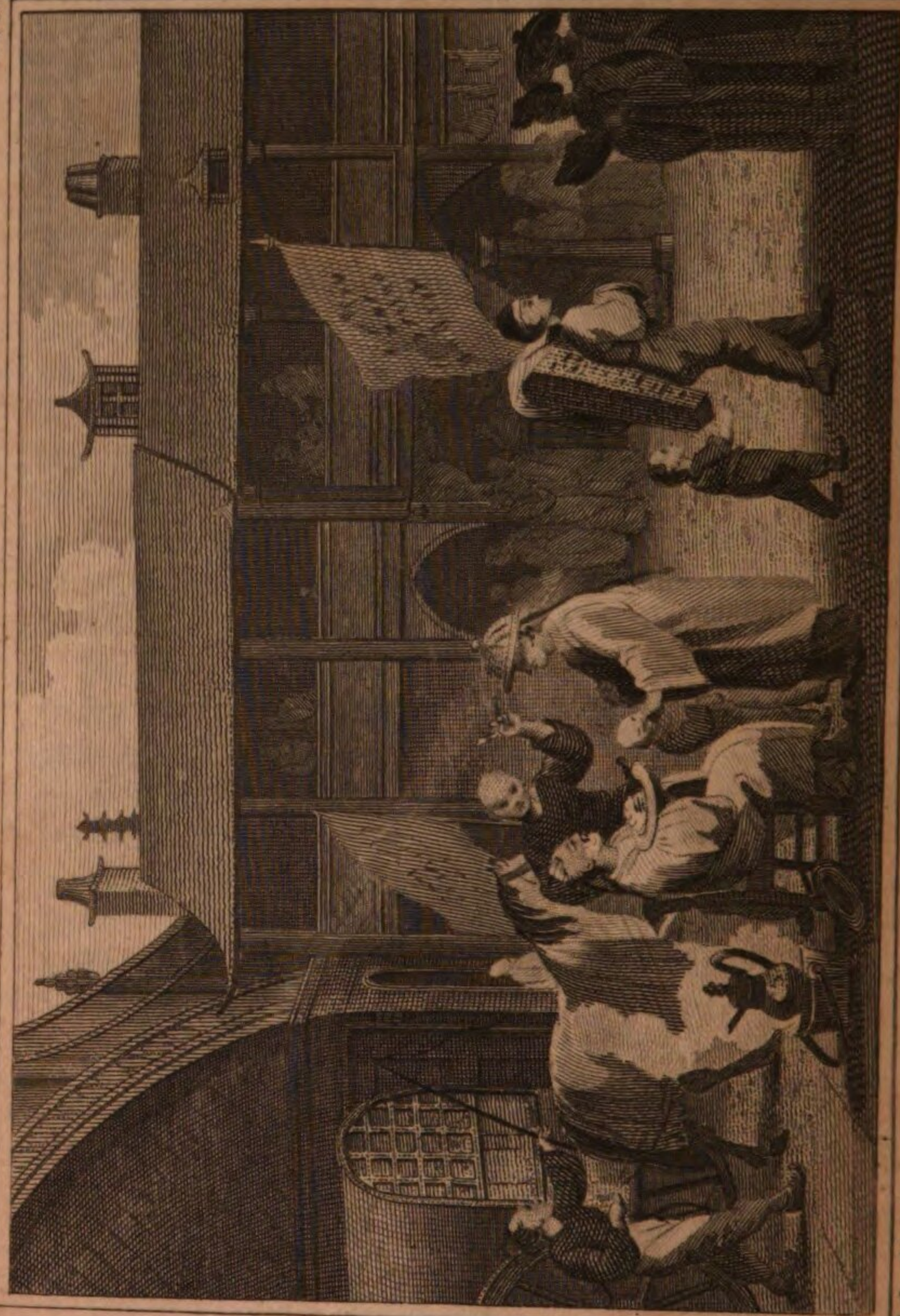
On the most moderate computation, from the south gate to the east gate is a space of ten miles. This was our route through Pekin; and every step presented some new object to arrest our attention. The streets are spacious, clean, and commodious, well paved, and well regulated. An exact police is kept up; and as every public functionary, from the highest to the lowest, is attentive to the discharge of his duty, order, neatness, and activity are every where perceptible. Large bodies of scavengers are employed in separate districts in removing every species of filth; and another class of men sprinkle the streets, to prevent the dust from incommoding passengers, or injuring the gaudy wares and elegant manufactures which every shop presents for sale.

In the capital, and, indeed, in almost every town in China, the pride of architectural elegance and embellishment seems to be chiefly displayed in the shops. The tradesmen wisely lay out the greatest expence in that apartment which brings them in the most profit; hence the shops, in general, are magnificent, while their domestic accommodations are neither numerous nor grand. The houses here are low, but highly embellished in front, with galleries, paintings, and golden characters. Fine pillars are erected at the doors of the shops, supporting a flag, which indicates the name and profession of the master of the house. These flags, with the intermixture of gilding, sculpture, and valuable commodities, which attract the eye every moment, give an idea of splendor, which fancy can scarcely enlarge.









Corbould del.

Scene in the Street of P.

Taylor sc.



The butchers shops appear to be supplied with excellent meat. On entering one of them, to satisfy our curiosity in regard to the pieces of meat, and the mode of cutting it up, which last is nearly the same as our own, we observed an earthen stove with a gridiron. The butcher, construing our signs into a want of meat, began cutting off and broiling small slices, which he continued to supply us with till we were satisfied. Perhaps, we might consume about a pound; and, on producing a string of caxee, the only coin allowed to be current in China, he took off one conderon, or ten, as the price of his meat. In this manner I saw numbers feasting on beef and mutton.

In Pekin, as in every populous place in the world, numbers must be engaged in humble, though useful, trades, in the streets. Many thousands here derive their livelihood from this source. These itinerant tradesmen, according to the nature of their business, either bear baskets over their shoulders, or carry a kind of pack. Street barbers are very numerous. These carry with them the implements of their trade, together with a chair, a small stove, and a water basin. Their customers sit down in the street, where the operation is performed with dispatch, and a mace is the general compliment to the operator. A pair of large steel tweezers, snapped with force, gives the signal that the barber is at hand; and, in a country where it is impossible that any person can entirely shave himself, if he complies with the established mode, this must be a lucrative trade.



Street auctioneers, apparently possessed of all the low eloquence and the vociferous exertions of that craft, present themselves frequently on a kind of platform.

The principal streets being of enormous length, are subdivided by arched gateways, under each of which the name of the partial street is written in gilt characters. These arches continually appearing, serve as central objects for the eye to repose on. The cross streets are terminated by small latticed gates, shut during the night; while the principal ones are incessantly guarded by soldiers, who are armed with swords and whips, to quell any disturbance, or to correct flighter irregularities.

Palanquins are the fashionable vehicles of the great, while covered carts, drawn by a horse or a mule, serve for the inferior classes.

An opinion has prevailed in Europe, that the Chinese women live secluded from view. The fact is otherwise: they frequently present themselves from the galleries in front of their houses; and amid the immense concourse that were assembled to view our procession, perhaps, there were more women in proportion than we should have seen in any principal town of Europe.

The females of Peking, in general, possess delicate features, the effects of which they heighten by cosmetics. They also apply vermilion to the middle of their lips, which certainly is not an unattractive addition to their beauty. Their eyes are small, but very expressive; and their brilliance is contrasted by a peak of black velvet or silk, set with stones, which depends from the forehead to the insertion of the nose. Their feet



feet appear to be of the natural size. In fact, the women seem to enjoy as much liberty as is consistent with the delicacy of the sex; nor is jealousy, as far as we could judge, a predominant passion among the men. On observing a crowd of women, we addressed them with the word *chou-au*, or beautiful, on which they gathered round us with an air of modest politeness, examined the make and texture of our clothes, and appeared to be vastly entertained. They did not decline a gentle shake of the hand, on one of our party taking leave; nor did the men, who were present, seem dissatisfied with our attention, or their condescension.

In our way through the city, we met a funeral procession. The coffin was covered by a rich canopy, with silk curtains, highly ornamented, and hung with escutcheons. It was placed on a large bier, and had a great number of men to support it, who advanced with a slow and solemn step. A band of music followed, playing a kind of dirge; and after them came the friends and relations of the deceased, in dresses of black and white.

Passing the eastern suburbs, we again entered a rich and beautiful country, and soon arrived at *Yeumenmanyemen*, one of the emperor's palaces, distant about five miles from the city. Here we found rather a scanty and indifferent refreshment; but being much fatigued, the idea of rest was our most acceptable gratification.

This palace is low, both in situation and building. We entered it by a common stone gateway, guarded by soldiers; beyond this is a kind of parade, in the centre of which is a small lodge for the



the accommodation of the mandarins in waiting. The body of the palace is divided into two square courts, equally destitute of elegance and convenience; the windows of the apartments are formed of lattice, covered with glazed and painted paper; and throughout the whole range there was no other furniture than a few ordinary tables and chairs. Not a bed or bedstead was any where to be seen. Indeed, the natives sleep on a kind of mattresses, and cover themselves with a cushion of stuffed and quilted cotton. They undress only partially, when they retire to rest, and increase the number of their coverings according to the severity of the season. Instead of bedsteads, they use a large wooden bench, raised about two feet from the ground, and bottomed with bamboos or wicker work. On one of these several persons may spread their mattresses.

Every thing about this residence evinced that it had been long deserted or neglected; and, indeed, a more unpromising situation for a royal residence could no where be found. It was naturally swampy, and two ponds of stagnant water communicated their mephitic odours to every apartment. Some small grass fields belong to the place; but these too were an exception to the general cultivated appearance of the country. In short, centipedes, scorpions, and mosquitoes, infested every part of this palace; and for such inhabitants it was solely adapted.

Yet, disagreeable as the internal state of our residence was, we were cut off from all external communication. Soldiers and mandarins guarded every avenue; and the embassy could be considered in no other light than as prisoners of state.

His



His excellency, the ambassador, justly conceiving a disgust at a situation so unfavourable to health or accommodation, as well as derogatory to his personal dignity and the honour of his country, made a serious remonstrance on the occasion. His application was, at last, productive of a change of residence; it was not, however, till the 26th, that we were suffered to quit this dreary abode.

During this interval, several unpleasant alterations took place between the members of the embassy and the soldiers on guard. The former could ill brook the disgraceful restraints laid on them by confinement within the walls of their prison; and the latter pertinaciously opposed every attempt at greater liberty.

So much pleasure did every person attached to the embassy feel, at the prospect of leaving this wretched place, that every necessary preparation was made for the purpose in the shortest possible space of time. Some of the presents, and the more delicate articles of art or manufacture, were left here, lest they should be injured by frequent removal.

The procession set out on its return to Peking, with the same accommodations as it came; and the arrangements having been made more perfectly than before, we arrived, without any accident or confusion, at the north gate of Peking about one in the afternoon of the 26th of August. This was the counter-gate to what we had entered in our former procession through Peking, and presented new views of streets and buildings. A pagoda attracted our notice in our progress, being the first we had found an opportunity of observing. It stands in the centre of a beautiful garden;



garden; is square, stone built, and gradually diminishes from the bottom till it terminates in a sphere. It rises to the height of seven stories, and has a gallery near the top, encompassed by a rail.

As it is probable our return was unexpected, we passed with facility through the streets, and soon arrived at a princely palace, belonging to the Viceroy of Canton, who, it seems, was a state prisoner here for some misconduct in office. This palace consists of twelve large and six smaller courts: it is built of a grey-coloured brick, of most elegant workmanship, but, except two detached edifices, which were occupied by Lord Macartney and the secretary to the embassy, the palace was only one story high, though this was of unusual elevation. Every thing without and within convinced us we now lodged in a palace: the embellishments were in the first style of Chinese taste; and in regard to the beauty of colours and the brilliant effect of house painting, no nation can enter into competition with this. The glossy effect of japan is every where perceptible, without the intervention of varnish; for we were convinced, that the beauty produced arose from some ingredients in the original composition.

The apartments were very spacious, and hung with the most elegant paper, enriched with gilding. Lord Macartney's residence was singularly superb, and, moreover, had an elegant private theatre belonging to it; and, in a word, all ranks and descriptions were accommodated in a style that gave satisfaction, and deserved acknowledgment. Here, however, the furniture was neither valuable nor in any quantity. Chairs  
and



and tables, a few platforms, covered with bamboo matting and carpets, were the only moveables in a palace, whose decorations, both external and internal, would not have disgraced the residence of the emperor himself.

Under the floor, in each of the principal apartments, is a stove, with a circular tube, which conveys warm air to every part of the room above. We saw no chimnies in this country; and understood that stoves, supplied with charcoal, were the universal custom.

The supplies for the table were in the best style of Chinese living; which consists more of stews and hashes than solid joints. In this respect, however, we had no reason to complain; but the same vigilance was employed to keep us within the limits of our residence as ever; and on no pretence could we pass the gates, or even scale the walls, which were constantly guarded by a military force.

We were told that the palace in which we were confined, was built by the Viceroy of Canton, chiefly from the fruits of his exactions on the English, during his continuance in office, at the expence of near one hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Though we wished that our continuance in this place might be of no long duration, as it was impossible to make any progress in the grand object of our mission, till we had an interview with the emperor, yet every arrangement was made to add to the dignity of the embassy, or promote its convenience. Having settled this business, we waited with anxious expectation the return of a mandarin, who had been dispatched to learn his imperial majesty's pleasure, whether we should proceed



proceed to Tartary, where he was then resident, or wait till the period of his usual return to Peking.

On the morning of the 28th of August, the conducting mandarin came to acquaint the ambassador, that it was his imperial majesty's pleasure to receive him in Tartary.

A new arrangement immediately took place. The principle gentlemen belonging to the embassy were selected to accompany his excellency into Tartary; several of the scientific gentlemen, mechanics, and sick, were to remain in charge of the baggage, and presents.

The guards, musicians, and servants, received orders to hold themselves in readiness, with only indispensable necessaries; and even the gentlemen of the suite were to be as little encumbered as possible. They were to carry with them only the uniform of the embassy, and a common suit of clothes: the musicians and servants were to be dressed out in a suit of state liveries, which, on being unpacked, it was evident that this was not their first appearance in public. But whether they were of diplomatic origin, or derived their existence from a meaner cause, is of little importance to the reader. With these habiliments, such as they were, every man fitted himself out in the best manner he could, though there was a general want of suitable small clothes; and had the party appeared as ridiculous to the Chinese as they did to one another, they might have supposed we wished to acquire money by an exhibition, not to add dignity to an embassy.

The ambassador and Sir George Staunton were to travel in an old chaise belonging to the latter, which, on being unpacked, had none of that gaudy appearance which distinguished the works  
of



of art in this country ; and some of the natives did not hesitate to express their disapprobation of its external appearance.

Such of the suite as preferred riding on horse-back were to be accommodated, on giving in their names; and carts were to be provided for the rest.

The baggage and presents, which were to accompany us, having been previously sent off, the ambassador's carriage was to be driven by a corporal of infantry, who fortunately had once been a postillion, and a light horseman, who was to act as his assistant. A man who has learned two trades is frequently useful to himself and to others: this humble corporal was the only man who could have headed the ambassador. He and his assistant were permitted to exercise the horses in the chaise for a short time through the streets of Peking, under a guard of mandarins and soldiers; and such crowds assembled to see this extraordinary spectacle, that authority was absolutely necessary to restrain the impertinent trespasses of curiosity.

A number of horses having been already brought to the palace, and the riders having made a selection, very early in the morning of September 2d, we began our march ; but meeting with frequent interruption, it was some time before we could pass the city gate. This being effected, we soon drove through the suburbs, and entered a rich and beautiful country by a road of great width, but without any central pavement. After travelling about six miles, we reached the village of Chin-giho, where we were allowed our morning refreshments. In our route we passed a great number of populous villages; and took up our first night's



night's lodging at one of the emperor's palaces, named Nanshighee.

Our benevolent conductor, Van-Tadge-In, seemed to redouble his activity as we approached the imperial presence. We were now furnished every day with the best accommodations, and received an allowance of samtchoo and Chinese wine; the former is a spirit distilled from rice and millet, and may deserve the appellation of Chinese gin.

From Peking to Jehol, whither we were bound, the distance is one hundred and sixty miles, which was divided into seven days journies, that we might have the advantage of sleeping in an imperial residence every night. This flattering mark of distinction, is the highest, it seems, that can be paid; and is never conferred even on the first mandarins. The palace where we passed the first night had but little to demand attention, either in its external appearance or its internal decorations. It was environed by a spacious garden; but to this we were denied access.

We resumed our journey at four next morning, and took our first refreshment at the town of Wheazon, a place of some consequence. From thence we proceeded through dusty roads, beneath a burning sun, till we reached the palace of Chan-Chin, where we halted for the night. This is a spacious structure, covering a great extent of ground, and is adorned with gardens and plantations. The surrounding country is inclosed; and in point of fertility is equal to any we had seen. It fed immense herds of cattle. The sheep here are small, but very fat; they have a thick short tail, weighing several pounds.



As we proceeded on our journey the next morning, the distant country assumed a mountainous aspect; fertility was sensibly diminished, and the villages became more thin. About noon we saw the city of Caungchumfoa. It seems to be a large place, and is walled in the manner of Pekin.

We met nothing worth remark in this day's march, except about two hundred camels and dromedaries, carrying wood and charcoal, entirely under the direction of one man. The docility of these animals, and their various useful qualities are too well known to be enumerated.

The palace of Caungchumfoa received us at an early hour of the afternoon, after the most fatiguing and disagreeable journey we had hitherto experienced. The palace itself has little to distinguish it from those we already occupied, and the treatment which the ambassador and his attendants received, corresponded in every respect with what they had experienced before, in their journey to and from Pekin.

Very early the next morning we were summoned together, and soon after departed.

The roads now became indifferent, and the country displayed a mountainous appearance. At a small distance from Waung-chanyeng, we passed a prodigious arch, which united two hills, with a parapet of maffy strength on both sides. The farther hill is crowned with a fort, whose ramparts stretch to a very great distance. Beneath this fort is a ponderous arch-way, conducting down the hill, so steep as to render travelling dangerous. In a romantic valley, at the bottom, appears the town of Waung-chanyeng. It is irregularly built, about a mile in length, and displays a considerable share of commerce and opulence.



lence. At the extremity of this town, a temporary triumphal arch was erected to the honour of the embassy, finely ornamented with silk streamers. Here the ambassador received a salute from some guns, and passed between a double line of soldiers, who displayed a martial appearance and military parade, beyond what we had hitherto witnessed in China. They were regularly drawn up in companies; and each regiment was distinguished by a different dress. They all wore a kind of coat of mail; and had their head and shoulders covered with steel helmets. Their armour was matchlocks, sabres, spears, lances, and bows and arrows, together with some weapons of which we knew not the appropriate name. Almost every division varied in its armour as well as its dress.

We now approached one of the wonders of the world, the wall that separates China from Tartary, the most stupendous work ever produced by man. In the vicinity are cantonments for an army of considerable magnitude; at the extremity of which is a massy gateway of stone, defended by three iron doors, which guard the pass between countries formerly distinct. This wall, the pride of human labour, is supposed to be upwards of twelve hundred miles in length: its height varies according to the circumstances of the surface. Where one of us contrived to get to the top, it was upwards of thirty feet high, and about twenty-four broad. The foundation is laid on large square stones; the superstructure is brick; the centre is a kind of mortar, covered with flagstones. A parapet of no ordinary strength runs on each side of an embattled wall.



If we consider that this immense fabric crosses the widest rivers, on arches of proportionate size, or in the same form connects mountains together, occasionally ascending the highest hills, or descending into the deepest vales, the most active powers of imagination will be required to realize this effort of man! In every situation, however, the passage along it is easy and uninterrupted; and it serves as a military way from one extremity of the kingdom to the other. At proper intervals there are strong towers placed, from whence signals are repeated, and any alarm may be communicated to the most distant parts of the empire, with the expedition of the telegraph.

From the best accounts we could receive, this wall has been built full two thousand years; nor can its traces be removed but with the consummation of all things.

The country on the other side assumed a new appearance; even the climate was changed. Instead of cultivated champaign, the abodes of wealth, and the bustle of commerce, we now encountered barren wastes, where art has not yet displayed her magic powers. However, the lover of nature would prefer this scene. The grand, the sublime, in all their picturesque forms, enchanted the eye.

About seven miles from the great wall, we came to a mountain, which exhibited an additional proof of the indefatigable labours of the Chinese, in works of public utility. A road, thirty feet wide, is cut through the solid rock; and to lessen the declivity, it is sunk no less than a hundred feet from the summit of the mountain. Yet still the ascent has a tremendous ap-



pearance; and without this vast labour, it could not have been surmounted by man.

At a moderate distance, on the other side of this steep mountain, stands the palace of Chaung-Shanuve. It consists, like the rest, of a number of courts, surrounded by a high wall. In the palaces, at least in this country, picturesque beauty is either unknown or disregarded. No distant prospects glad the eye: nature, though frequently enchanting, is excluded from the sight.

Here a considerable number of the emperor's ladies are lodged, guarded by eunuchs. Our apartments of course were distinct; but we saw several of them peeping over the partition that separated their apartments from ours. A few trusty mandarins have the superintendence of this seraglio. Extensive gardens environ the spot.

From Chaung-Shanuve the road takes the character of the country, which was every where broken and mountainous. Yet sterile as it now appeared, this evidently did not proceed from any want of activity in the natives. Every spot capable of cultivation was covered with corn; and in one place we saw several patches of tillage where the declivity seemed to be wholly inaccessible. This excited our admiration; but judge our surprise, when we observed a peasant labouring on one of them, where we at first could not conceive how he was capable of standing. This poor man, whose hut was erected at the bottom of the precipice, let himself down from its top by a cord tied round his middle. Depending on the strength of this, he laboured for his daily fare, amid continual danger; a proof at once of Chinese industry and resolution.

The



The wise policy of the Chinese government is in nothing more perceptible, than in its receiving the greatest part of the taxes, necessarily imposed, in the produce of the country. This serves as a spur to the exertions of both body and mind. The landlord also is paid his rent in the produce of his farms; and the farmer again pays his labourers by an allotment of small portions of land, from whence industry, with a little occasional encouragement, may derive a comfortable subsistence. The only real wealth of nations is agriculture, which is here perfectly understood. A regular chain is established between all ranks for its encouragement; and the artificial and unnatural medium of money, the source of wretchedness and of crimes, is only employed as the cement, not as the materials, of the building.

Being now near the termination of our journey, the ambassador gave orders to practise the procession and ceremonies with which we were to appear before the imperial court. His excellency was pleased to approve of the rehearsal; during the performance of which, the band played the favourite march, known by the appellation of the Duke of York's.

On the next morning, being the 7th of September, we continued our route over a hilly country, where the air was piercingly cold. We passed several well-peopled villages; but neither the country nor the people were the same as on the other side of the Chinese wall.

Early in the afternoon we reached the palace of Callachotreihangfu, in extent and form equal to any we had lately seen; but we found it tenanted only by squirrels, which bounded round the courts and haunted the apartments.



Next morning we arrived at one of the emperor's pagodas, where we found an abundant supply of provisions. Here we made a short stay, to arrange our dress and equipage.

Next we came to the village of Quoangcho, within a mile of Jehol, the imperial residence. Here we were marshalled, and proceeded amid an immense concourse of spectators, with all the parade that circumstances would allow. The soldiers of the royal artillery led the way—the light-horse and infantry succeeded—ambassador's servants two and two—couriers—mechanics two and two—musicians two and two—the gentlemen of the suite two and two—Sir George Staunton, in a palanquin—the ambassador and Mr. Staunton closed the cavalcade in the post-chaise, behind which stood a black boy in a turban.

The military made a most respectable show; and the gentlemen of the suite, it may be reasonably supposed were not forgetful of their dignity, and strove to support it by every external display; but the generality were a motly group, without even the advantage of a tolerable uniformity in dress or appearance. The Chinese might possibly be amused by the novelty of the scene, but they could not be impressed with its grandeur.

Proceeding with a slow pace, in this state we reached Jehol about ten in the morning, and drew up before the palace provided for the reception of the embassy. The British military formed a line for the ambassador as he passed; but not a mandarin was in waiting to receive him; and we took possession of the palace without the welcome of an address.

The palace we now inhabited is situated on the declivity of a hill. We entered it by a wooden gateway,



gateway, which conducts to a large court. Each side of this court has a long gallery, supported by wooden pillars, and roofed with black glossy tiles. That on the left was converted into a kitchen, the other served for the soldiers to exercise in. At the upper end was another gallery of more elegance, from which a door opens into a farther court, the principal apartments of which were appropriated for the use of the ambassador and Sir George Staunton, the rest for the military gentlemen attached to them: a third court was occupied by the gentlemen of the suite, the musicians, servants, and mechanics. The whole fabric is surrounded by a high wall; but owing to the declivity of the situation, the view was not wholly confined.

Such was our situation at Jehol; we had plenty within our walls, but no one had liberty of egress.

The second day after our arrival, the ambassador received a visit from a mandarin, with a numerous retinue. He remained nearly an hour in conference with his excellency and Sir George Staunton. During his stay, his attendants amused themselves in examining the dress of the English servants; and on rubbing the lace on their clothes with a stone, to ascertain its quality, smiled when they found it less valuable than brilliant.

What passed at this conference could not be generally known; but a spirit of conjecture was conjured up among the attendants on the embassy, and the presages they formed were by no means favourable.

Instead of that profusion which had hitherto crowned our board, the lower classes in the embassy found scarcely enough at dinner this day to satisfy one half of them. They had, however,



been previously instructed, that if their provisions should be defective in quantity or in quality, they were to intimate the grievance to his excellency alone, and leave them untouched. An Englishman cannot easily be reconciled to confinement, and much less to famine. We could perceive something, too, of a meditated disrespect, and of course felt some alarm. According to our instructions, the meat was left untouched; but his excellency having remonstrated to the mandarin, by means of his interpreter, in a few minutes every table was served with hot dishes, in the usual variety and profusion. Why this entertainment, which must have been nearly ready, was thus withheld, and so speedily produced, served as an enigma to exercise our ingenuity, but which we could never solve.

Next day, the presents brought from Peking were unpacked; they consisted of a great number of pieces of coarse cloth, principally black and blue, two telescopes, two air-guns, two richly mounted fowling-pieces, two pair of saddle pistols, two boxes of Irish tabbinets, two large boxes of British carpeting, and two most elegant saddles with furniture complete. Sentinels were placed to guard these specimens of British art and manufacture, till the imperial pleasure respecting them should be known, which was afterwards notified by the attendant mandarin, with as much civility as could be expected from the supposed greatness of his office.

A mandarin of the first order, on the 12th of September, came to acquaint the ambassador, that his imperial majesty would give him an audience on the 14th. This intelligence diffused hope and spirits through the whole embassy.

Orders



Orders were issued that the suite should be ready on the morning of the day appointed, to accompany his excellency to the imperial palace. The attendants were to appear in their best liveries; and the soldiers, and servants, after having escorted the ambassador, were to return immediately to their quarters; his excellency informing them, that he had reason to hope the restrictions imposed on them, which were so irksome to all, would in a few days be removed, by his endeavours.

His excellency was splendidly dressed, in mulberry velvet, with his diamond star and riband, and over the whole he wore the full habit of the order of the Bath. Sir George Staunton was in a full court dress, over which he wore the gown and hood of a doctor of laws, with the academical cap.

From the darkness of the morning, a considerable confusion arose in the intended order of the cavalcade; but as parade is useless when no one can see it, the failure was of little consequence.

As early as five in the morning, the ambassador alighted from his palanquin, amid an immense number of the populace. Sir George and Mr. Staunton supported his train.

In our return, being now day light, we had a view of the city. It is large and populous; but very irregularly built. The houses are low, and chiefly of wood. Except in the quarter contiguous to the imperial palace, none of the streets are paved.

The principal support of this place seems to be derived from the emperor's partiality for it. No river connects it with remote situations; the splendid expence of a court, however, renders it rich and busy. The surrounding country, though  
not



not comparable to China, is in the best state of Tartary cultivation.

His excellency's visit, being merely a matter of form and presentation, did not engage him long. He returned before noon. The emperor, it is said, received the credentials with all the dignity of form. He appeared to be vastly struck with the manners and abilities of Mr. Saunton, to whom he presented, with his own hands, a beautiful fan, and some embroidered purses.

Soon after the ambassadors return, a number of valuable presents were received from court, consisting of velvets, silks, and purses, and some of the finest tea of the country, made up into solid cakes of about five pounds each. Except such as were addressed for their Britannic Majesties, these presents were proportionably divided among the gentlemen of the suite.

Next morning, the ambassador, attended only by his suite, paid a second visit to the emperor, in order, as we understood, to attempt to open the wished-for negotiation. On this occasion he stopped several hours. The interpreter gave a very favourable report of the aspect of the negotiation, as far as it had advanced; and our hopes for its success seemed to derive some confirmation from a second cargo of presents, consisting of silks as before, Chinese lamps, and valuable porcelain; to these were added a number of calibash boxes of the most exquisite fabric. A distribution was made as before; and mirth and festivity, arising from sanguine hopes of success, crowned the evening of the day.

Several mandarins visited the ambassador on the 16th of September, and invited him and the whole embassy to attend the anniversary of the



the emperor's birth-day at court on the morrow.

Accordingly his excellency set out very early in the morning, and the whole cavalcade reached the imperial palace about four o'clock. This palace commands an elevated situation and extensive views: it contains a numerous range of courts, none of which, however, appear very magnificent, though some of them are highly decorated with painting and gilding. The gardens surround it for several miles; these are bounded by a wall thirty feet high. In the front of the palace is a fine lawn, with a lake in the centre.

When the emperor approached, the mandarins in waiting prostrated themselves, or it would have been impossible to have distinguished his palanquin from one of theirs. No external pomp or badge of dignity marked his dress or equipage. It is a favourite maxim of his government, to check superfluous expence, and to encourage frugality and industry in every department of his government. Actuated by the same wise and patriotic principle, he has forbidden any public rejoicings on his birth-day, in this less flourishing part of his empire; but such unfeigned homage is paid to his dignified and amiable character, that except in his immediate presence, and under his personal view, all ranks and descriptions of men, throughout his extensive dominions, give a loose to joy on this auspicious day. He had now completed the eighty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-seventh of his reign. In the palanquin we could only observe his countenance, which was animated, and little expressive of his advanced years; his eyes were dark and piercing; and his whole air bore the impression of the conscious dignity of virtue, rather than of rank and state.

Our



Our return was followed by a repetition of the same kind of presents, varied in pattern and colour. A profusion of fruits and confectionary accompanied those expressions of imperial munificence. In the confectionary art, the Chinese seem capable of giving a lesson to the most eminent in that line among the Europeans.

Next day the ambassador went in a more private manner to have an audience of leave, as the court was soon to return to Pekin. At the same time he transacted certain official business, the result of which was generally spoken of among the suite in the following terms

That the emperor declined entering into any written treaty with Great Britain, or indeed with any nation, as being contrary to ancient usage: at the same time he expressed the highest respect for the British nation and the king; and was strongly disposed to give them a preference in all commercial concerns; but that he could not sacrifice the interests of his own people to any foreign connections, and would only continue his avowed partiality for the English, while he found they conducted themselves in their commercial intercourse in such a manner as to deserve it.

To evince his high personal regard for the King of Great Britain, he delivered to the ambassador, with his own hand, a box of great value, containing the miniatures of all the preceding emperors, with a short character of each in verse, written by themselves; accompanied with the subsequent address.

“ Deliver this casket to the king your master, and tell him from me, that small as the present may appear, it is the most valuable I have to bestow, or my empire can furnish. It has been  
trans-



transmitted to me through a long line of ancestors; and I had reserved it as the last token of affection I had to bequeath to my son and heir, as a tablet of the virtues of his progenitors, which I should hope he had only to peruse to be induced to imitate; and to make it, as they had done, the grand object of his life to exalt the imperial honour, and advance the happiness of his people."

After dinner the ambassador returned with his whole suite and attendants, to see a play performed in the imperial palace, on a temporary stage. The dramatic entertainments consisted of mock battles, vaulting, tumbling, rope-dancing, and other gymnastic amusements, which would have done no discredit to any performers. A variety of deceptions concluded the theatrical fête. One of which was the exhibition of a large bowl, in every possible position; which was immediately placed on the stage, bottom upwards, and on being lifted up again, discovered a large rabbit, which escaped from the performer by taking refuge among the audience. Other similar tricks, very dexterously performed, amused us by their novelty and apparent difficulty. The theatre made a splendid appearance, being well filled with persons of distinction.

Next day, pipes and tobacco, sufficient to supply every individual belonging to the embassy were received; and several mandarins came to pay their respects to the ambassador. In these visits we observed how little regard is paid to external appearance in China. The mandarins never varied their habits; and even the court-dresses here differ very little from the ordinary habiliments. It may be said to consist of a loose  
robe.



robe, falling half way down the leg, and drawn round the neck with ribands. Over the breast is a piece of embroidery, about five inches square, finished in gold, or silk of various colours, with an exact counterpart on the back; which badges denote the rank of the wearer. The sash, which at other times is usually worn round the waist, is dispensed with at court.

On our approaching the coast of China, Lord Macartney had communicated the general orders by which the conduct of the embassy was to be regulated: these seemed to be dictated by good sense, and a regard to the successful prosecution of the grand objects in view.

Among the orders given out, was an express injunction, forbidding any traffic with the natives. This we believe was punctually observed, as far as gain was concerned; but a private in the infantry, composing part of the ambassador's guard, having been reported to have procured a small quantity of samtchoo by the assistance of a Chinese soldier, he was immediately confined; and being brought to a court martial, of which a corporal was president, he was sentenced to receive sixty lashes.

This sentence being approved by the commanding officer, the British soldiers were drawn up in form, in the outer court of the palace where we resided; and the poor culprit being fastened to one of the pillars of the great portico, received his punishment without mitigation.

The abhorrence excited in the breasts of the Chinese, at this cruel conduct, as it appeared to them, was demonstrably proved by their words and looks. They expressed their astonishment, that a people professing the mildest, the most benevolent



nevolent religion on earth, as they wished to have it believed, could be guilty of such flagrant inattention to its merciful dictates. One of the principal mandarins, who knew a little English, expressed the general sentiment, "Englishman too much cruel, too much bad."

But it seems the commander of the *Lion* went a step farther towards alienating the affections of the Chinese from our countrymen. When that ship lay at Chusan, a native brought a bottle of samtchoo on board, intending to exchange it for some European article. His design being discovered, the captain ordered him to be seized and punished with twelve lashes, in the presence of numbers of his countrymen; though a complaint preferred to a mandarin would have obtained the satisfaction necessary, and saved the appearance of arbitrary and cruel conduct.

The mild manners of the Chinese, indeed, revolt at the public exhibition of punishments; they are at a loss to reconcile European behaviour with European professions. Our faith and practice, in almost every instance, appears to them to be opposite; and these circumstances we have had the pain to record, as well as several others which occasionally happened, instead of removing unfavourable prejudices, seemed to legitimate and sanction their continuance.

Having previously been informed that the embassy was to proceed to Peking, where its final issue was to be determined, we set out from Jehol on the morning of the 21st of September, after a state imprisonment of fourteen days; for the liberty we had been encouraged to expect, was never granted.



Soon after we left Jehol, we passed the emperor's pagoda, where we saw the tributary king of Cochin China's ambassador and suite, advancing with the annual acknowledgment.

We slept at the imperial palace of Callachottueng, mentioned before, where we lost an artillery-man, of the bloody flux; of which alarming malady several others among the military were ill. The attendant mandarin expressed great apprehension lest the emperor should hear of this circumstance, and an alarm of contagious disorders be given him.

Next morning we received intelligence, that the emperor had left Jehol, and that it would be necessary to advance two stages this day, in order that the palaces might be at liberty to accommodate his majesty's attendants.

Pursuing the same route as we had done before, and retracing the same objects, our journey to Peking was barren of incidents or novelty. We arrived there on the afternoon of the 26th, and took up our residence in the palace which had been appropriated for our use before we set out for Jehol. The arrangements which had been made, during the ambassador's absence, seemed to meet his entire approbation; and as our stay here, at this period, was likely to be of some continuance, every preparation and provision was made for the domestic comfort of the establishment, and the splendor of the embassy,

The state canopy was erected in the principal room of the ambassador's apartments. It was made of flowered crimson silk, and fringed with gold. The back displayed the arms of Great Britain. Under its cover five chairs of state were placed; the centre one being elevated above the rest



rest for the ambassador. At the other end of the apartment were hung whole length portraits of their Britannic Majesties. The whole formed an appearance for an audience chamber, equal to the consequence of the country represented.

The arrival of the emperor was announced by a grand discharge of artillery on the 28th.

Next day his excellency was visited by several mandarins; and some packages of British manufacture were prepared for presentation to the emperor.

On the 1st of October, a mandarin requested, in the name of the emperor, that the ordnance presents might be sent to the palace of Yeumen-manyeumen, where the Chinese themselves were to prove and examine them. The chariots and other presents were also removed to the same place.

The following day the ambassador received a formal invitation to wait on the emperor on the morrow. His excellency went in a private manner, and transacted business with the officers of state. The conference lasted for two hours; and there were no apparent reasons for supposing that the objects of the mission were not in a progressive state of success.

The imperial palace, in Peking, stands in the middle of the city, and is surrounded by a very high wall. It is said to occupy a circumference of about seven miles, containing gardens both for pleasure and utility, replenished with all that is rare in art or nature. Our view, however, of the whole was very confined: and from actual observation we can say nothing of the internal splendor of the palace, or the beauty of its appendages. We must, however, confess, that this



royal residence had something of an imposing appearance, compared with the surrounding objects; but there is great reason to doubt whether it deserves the extraordinary character and description it has received in several accounts of China. The entrance into the palace is by a strong stone arched way. The range of buildings fronting it is three stories high, and much embellished with galleries, gilding and painting. The roof is covered with shining tiles, of a yellow colour; the walls are variously painted and decorated. A large body of soldiers guard the gate; and several mandarins, of the first class, are in constant waiting.

The ambassador now settled the order and disposition of the tables for the different departments of the household; and every thing seemed to indicate a residence of some permanency at Peking.

More presents were unpacked, consisting of plated goods, hard-ware, and cutlery; and the whole was equally divided between the emperor and the grand Choulai.

On the 5th, the emperor visited the palace of Yeumenmanyemen, to inspect the presents which were lodged there; and was pleased to order several ingots of silver to be distributed to every person attending. The English artificers, who were the immediate objects of his generosity, and had a complete view of him, described his majesty as being about five feet ten inches high; of a slender form, but well proportioned; and that his countenance presented a regularity of features, free from the decrepitude of age. His deportment was attractively affable; and the dignity of the prince was only displayed in the superior



perior manners of the man. He was habited in a robe of yellow silk, and a cap of black velvet, surmounted with a red ball, and adorned with a peacock's feather. He wore silk boots, embroidered with gold, and a blue silk sash.

The opinion his majesty formed of the presents could only be collected from their being generally received. Two camera obscuras were, however, returned, as being suited only to the amusement of children. Our interpreter explained to the mandarins, the nature and use of a variety of articles.

Presents were this day received from the emperor for their Britannic Majesties. The ambassador and suite had likewise their proportion.

At noon, on the 16th, the ambassador again went to visit the emperor; but on his arrival at court he fainted away, and being conveyed home, continued indisposed during the day. In the meanwhile, Sir George Staunton and Colonel Benson distributed to each of the soldiers and servants, some pieces of silk, others of dongaree, (a kind of nankeen) and a junk of silver, of considerable weight, as a present from his imperial majesty.

The optical, mechanical, and mathematical instruments being removed from the palace of Yeumenmanyemen, the gentlemen and mechanics were dismissed from their attendance there. On a trial of the powers of some of the articles, before the mandarins, they failed in the effects ascribed to them, and others excited little surprise or admiration in the Chinese literati, who viewed them.

A report began to circulate, that we were soon to quit Peking. It occasioned a considerable share



of speculation, though it obtained less credit than afterwards appeared to be due.

This report, which at first met with only a faint belief in general, was soon confirmed by an order from the ambassador, to prepare for our departure on Wednesday. Our surprise and concern may easily be conceived. After a variety of fatigues, we consoled ourselves that we should now have enjoyed some repose; but all personal considerations were absorbed in public affairs, in which the humblest individual felt an interest. The grand objects of the embassy were evidently unaccomplished; and in our attachment to the good of our country, its honour, its advantage, we forgot every other care.

To gain a little respite, till the baggage was packed up and arranged, seemed a reasonable demand. The attendant mandarin made the requisition: an order arrived from the grand Choul-laa to suspend our departure till Friday: but judge our astonishment, when this was countermanded by the emperor himself, and we were expressly ordered to depart on the day first intimated.

To speculate on the policy that actuated the court of Peking on this occasion, would be vain. We shall neither presume to ascribe it to any misconduct or mismanagement, from which the skill and abilities of the principal conductors must preclude suspicion; but the manner in which the embassy was dismissed was certainly ungracious, and mortifying in the extreme.

In this state of affairs, Lord Macartney sent the carriage of ceremony, as a present to the grand Choul-laa, which was declined, and after  
we



we had left Pekin, we found it returned on our way.

The confusion arising from this sudden and unexpected event, rendered it impossible to arrange the baggage with any order. We huddled it together in the best manner that circumstances would permit. Some articles, which could not be packed up, or were now useless, were given to the mandarins; the natives took care to purloin a share, and Lord Macartney's servants had the canopy of state.

We set out on the road that leads to Tongtchew at a very early hour on the morning of the 9th, and reached that town in the evening. Even the thoughts of being on the return to our country failed to relieve the gloom of disappointment; and to increase our unpleasant sensations, we met with neglect and humble accommodations, compared to what we had experienced before. We were lodged here in temporary sheds, hung with straw matting.

Next morning, on proceeding to the side of the river, we found the junks intended for our reception. The baggage was put on board with all possible expedition, but not without a degree of confusion beyond what we had yet known. The ambassador and his suite occupied seven junks; the attendant mandarin and his party followed in separate vessels. Soon after the embarkation was performed, dinner was served up; and at an early hour we retired to rest, after a most fatiguing day.

Nothing occurred for some days; we still attracted the notice of the natives, but received less of the ceremonious attentions of our former voyage.

On



On the 16th we left the channel of the river, and entered a canal of infinite labour and expence. The sides are masonry throughout its extent ; and at certain distances locks, in the form of a crescent, are erected, which, confining the water to a narrow passage in the middle of the canal, occasions a moderate fall of about three feet. The motion of the junks is accelerated in passing these locks, and continues to some distance ; and to prevent vessels receiving damage from striking against the walls of the lock, men are always ready to let down large leathern pads, which effectually break the shock.

For some days we sailed through a country rich in agriculture and population. We observed plantations of the shrub which produces the imperial and gunpower tea. In size and figure it resembles the gooseberry-bush. Imperial tea is the produce of the first blossoms ; gunpowder tea is a collection of the successive blossoms, as they appear.

On the 20th we passed numerous plantations of tobacco ; a plant cultivated here in the greatest variety, and to the greatest extent, of any country in the world. Indeed, smoking being the universal practice from infancy to old age, the quantity of tobacco consumed in China, must exceed all moderate calculation.

Several considerable cities appeared at a small distance from the canal ; the garrisons from which advanced to the banks, to give the usual salute.

Several corn-mills, worked by water, and apparently on the same construction as in Europe, arrested our attention in our progress.



A lofty pagoda, of eight stories, opened to our view on the morning of the 23d. Next day we saw the Chinese post pass along the road on the margin of the canal. The letters are inclosed in a large bamboo basket, hooped with cane; it is then locked, and the key is given into the custody of one of the soldiers, who delivers it to the post-master. The basket is then strapped on the courier's shoulders, and being decorated with a number of little bells at the bottom, they make a loud jingling, when shaken by the motion of the horse, and announce the approach of the post. Five light-horsemen escort the courier; and as the fleetest horses are selected, and changed at every stage, the mails in China are conveyed with extraordinary expedition.

The junks anchored on the evening of the following day, in the heart of a large city, through which the canal passes. A continual succession of bridges connects the banks. These are guarded by soldiers, who suffer no vessel to pass till a mandarin has inspected it. The fleet here received a salute of three guns, and a numerous body of soldiers lined the banks.

After passing several large cities in the course of this day's voyage, we anchored for the night at Lee-yaungoa, which was illuminated in honour of the ambassador. Public attentions indeed began again to be more frequent, and ceremoniously paid.

Every spot in our passage gave testimony to the existence of art, and the effects of industry. On the 29th, we observed the peasants ploughing. They worked with oxen; and though their ploughs were of a very clumsy form, the labour seemed to be neatly and properly executed.

A succession



A succession of towns, locks, bridges, and pagodas, occurred for several days, the detail of which, wanting variety and incident, would probably be tedious.

As it was intended to forward the heavy baggage from Hoang-tchew to Chusan, in order to its being conveyed by sea to Canton, arrangements were made for this purpose. A party of the gentlemen of the embassy, and servants, were to accompany it; the ambassador and the remainder were to proceed over land, with only the absolute necessities of apparel and travelling.

On the 9th, the grand mandarin visited every junk, the owners of which he briefly examined; and then ordered them to suffer the punishment of the bamboo. Their crime we could never learn.

Passing several plantations of tallow trees, we arrived at Hoang-tchew, on the afternoon of the 10th; when the junks were all fastened together, and every person belonging to the suite was forbid to land. Indeed a body of Chinese soldiers pitched their tents opposite to us, as if to awe us into compliance. During the time we lay here, no circumstance happened worthy of being recorded. The mandarin of Hoang-tchew had accompanied us from Peking, and being superior to Van-Tadge-In, of course assumed the supreme direction during this part of our voyage. Here he was to remain.

The heavy baggage, which was to be sent to Chusan, being separated from the light articles we were to carry with us to Canton, Colonel Benson, Captain Mackintosh, and party, set off to join the Hindostan at Chusan, on the fifth day after our arrival; and same day also we left Hoang-tchew.

The



The ambassador, accompanied by his retinue, proceeded, on the 14th of November, for the Green River, where we were again to embark in smaller junks. On passing the city gates, the embassy received the customary salute. Between the two rivers the distance could not be less than seven miles; and the whole space was covered by the city and suburbs, and lined with soldiers, who secured us from the pressure of an innumerable multitude of people. The streets are narrow, but well-paved; the houses two and three stories high; and the magnificence of the shops was beyond any thing we had hitherto seen. In commerce and population, Hoang-tchew is a city of the first magnitude.

At noon we reached the Green River, where the ambassador was received with military honours. The troops were armed with helmets, and made, with their accompaniments, a splendid appearance.

A triumphal arch, with a platform descending to the ambassador's junk, had been erected for the occasion. Our embarkation was attended by myriads of people. Some were mounted on buffaloes, which animal carried several at a time on its back, and appeared very docile.

Our voyage was continued between ranges of mountains, presenting the most romantic scenery. The valleys were covered with tallow and mulberry-trees. The former is called the latchoo, and is remarkably beautiful, having scarlet leaves edged with yellow, and purplish blossoms.

The river, on which we now sailed, was, at a medium, about three feet deep. The water has a green cast, and the bottom is gravelly.



In the evening of the 15th, the city of Zanguoa made a most brilliant appearance with its illuminations. The effect was increased by numerous bodies of soldiers ranged along the banks of the river, with paper lanterns.

Next day the features of the country, through which we sailed, were still mountainous and picturesque; and the forts and salutes, henceforward, became so frequent, that they grew absolutely tiresome.

Our provisions had for some time been very indifferent; not from neglect, but the nature of the country. In proportion as we fared worse, our Chinese junk-men fared better; they received not only our superfluity, but sometimes almost the whole.

The 27th presented a novel scene—a village entirely built of mud, with inhabitants as wretched in appearance as their habitations were mean. For this sight we were unable to account.

The river had now assumed a formidable breadth; and as the wind was high, the waves and surf resembled those of the sea. We passed numbers of fishing-boats, which served to vary the navigation of the stream.

The city of Tyaung-shi-sennau appeared in view on the 28th. We passed it in the afternoon; and for extent and the advantages of situation, it unquestionably deserves to be reckoned one of the first in China. Not less than a thousand junks lay at anchor before it. It is built near the-conflux of several rivers, and enjoys a most extensive commerce. The grand mandarin paid a visit on board his excellency's junk, and made a variety of presents, in silk, porcelain, and tea.



The only novelty that presented itself, in the course of our voyage on the 29th, was a village built with blue bricks, and covered with tiles of the same colour. Pagodas and the palaces of mandarins were now become familiar objects.

The following day we passed a city, lying amid beautiful meadows and orchards, about two miles distance from the river. Beyond this the prospect became as delightful as fancy can conceive. Mountains rose into the horizon, forests waved on the slopes, and flocks and herds covered the vales.

The river was now expanded to a great breadth; and as the wind blew fresh, the junks sometimes appeared in danger of being overfet. At this time the thermometer had sunk to 40; and the fields were covered with frost.

It has been previously remarked, that there are no public cemeteries, except in the vicinity of populous places. Hence the country becomes a continued burial-ground. Which ever way we turned our eyes, some trophy of death appeared; and the degree of embellishment it had received marked the rank of the deceased. Indeed it is not unusual for the Chinese to erect their funeral monuments in their lifetime; and as the choice of situation is free, many of them become picturesque objects.

On the 1st of December, we sailed by the town of Saunt-yo-tawn, where several superb pagodas rose above the surrounding groves. Numerous timber-yards occupied the banks of the river; and a large quantity of timber was immersed in the stream, which, as we were told, was in a state of preparation for the building of junks, the principal business of the place.



In the evening we reached the city of Chingfoo. Here illuminations, the firing of rockets and of artillery, took place in honour of the ambassador. We received also a present of fruit and confectionary from the mandarin of the place.

To note every object which arrested and pleased the eye of the traveller, would fatigue the reader without informing him. Every bend of the river opened a new prospect that gratified the sight, to which no description, however vivid, could do justice. The season of the year was now the most unpropitious for landscape beauty; yet the charms of nature, intermixed with the vestiges of art, imparted successive impulses of delight.

On the 2d of December, we observed numbers of fishermen employed in their vocation with rods and lines. In lakes and large rivers, the same kind of bait is frequently used as at sea. Nets too are in very common use. In some places bamboo canes, supporting a curtain of strong gauze, are placed across the streams; and then the fish, being allured to the spot by baits, are caught in nets with great success.

On enquiry, we found that the rights of fishery, as in Europe, are private property. In those rivers we navigated, a kind of whiting and trout were the most plentiful. These are sold to the crews of the junks, and the demand for them is very great.

While on the subject of fishing, a mode peculiar to the Chinese, of catching them by a species of birds, trained up for that purpose, should not pass without notice. The fowls are called looau, and are said to be indigenous here. They are about the size of a goose; of a grey colour; web-footed; and furnished with a long slender bill, incurvated



incurvated at the extremity. This bird builds among the reeds, or in the hollows of cliffs, adjoining the shores. When trained for fishing, to which nature gives them an extraordinary degree of aptitude and docility, a certain number of them are taken out in each boat, and at a given signal they dive, and bring up their prey with unerring certainty, and with equal certainty deposit it in the boat to which they respectively belong, though hundreds may be mixed. These astonishing aquatic birds will soon fill a boat, where fish is plentiful; and it is positively affirmed, that when one of them seizes a fish too large to manage singly, its companions join in affording assistance. A ring passed round the neck, prevents them from swallowing what they catch.

We have frequently had occasion to remark the improved state of agriculture in this country. In our passage down the river on the 6th of December, we observed a number of machines, with which the Chinese water their grounds. They consist of a wheel of bamboo, turned by a stream, which throwing the water into large reservoirs, it is from thence distributed by sluices into a thousand channels.

Next day was the most remarkable we had yet experienced. During our whole progress we saw neither city, town, nor village. A few farm-houses were, however, dispersed over the face of the country. The banks of the river were lofty, and formed of a perpendicular barrier of red earth, streaked with horizontal veins of stone, in a direction perfectly rectilinear. This natural curiosity continued for several miles.

The shallowness of the river obliged us again to shift the baggage into junks of lesser burden,



and in the course of the evening we found ourselves in the vicinity of some town or village, from the number of paper lanterns we saw exhibited by the soldiers, and the complimentary salute they paid us.

The weather had for some days been temperate; but the face of the country was no longer the same. Barren mountains, separated by plains that seemed to defy the labour of man to produce fertility, now presented themselves on all hands. Some dwarf-trees, however, among which the camphire is said to predominate, broke the abruptness of the slopes; and here and there a village or a pagoda animated the scene.

In this place we observed several sepulchral monuments, with excavations in the rocks beneath, as receptacles for the dead. The most elevated spots, the most abrupt precipices, we generally observed, were appropriated for the repose of the dead. Whether this choice was determined by notoriety, or from any superstitious opinion, that the body might be placed as near as possible to that heaven, where spirits wing their flight, we could obtain no satisfactory information. The amiable virtues, however, of the Chinese, were rendered more conspicuous by the feeling regard they uniformly appear to shew to the remains of those they have once loved or respected.

On the 9th, we arrived at the city of Naung-aum-foo. Here the embassy was to make a day's march over land; and accordingly we disembarked. The landing-place was adorned with a triumphal arch, highly decorated with silken streamers, and connected, by a platform, with a circular court, surrounded by a screen of silk. In this place



place a number of horses were collected, with the choice of one of which, every person in the suite was indulged, for the journey of the day. The ambaffador, with two or three gentlemen of his suite, were to proceed as usual in palanquins. The horses being selected, the cavalcade commenced their progress; and perhaps such an exhibition of equestrian exercise and grotesque dress, never before amused a Chinese populace. The horses were spirited, many of the riders were new to this mode of travelling, The cries of fear, and the shouts of ridicule, were every where heard; and scarcely could we attend to the passing scene; so much were we engaged by the peculiarities of our own situation.

We arrived at the gates of Naung-chin-oa, just as the sun had sunk beneath the horizon.

Soldiers lined the streets, to facilitate our passage to the mandarin's palace, a very noble building, consisting of several courts. A splendid entertainment was provided for the whole suite; and such a profusion of lights decorated the principal apartments, as are never displayed in Europe on any occasion. Indeed, illumination, we may safely affirm, constitutes the grand appropriate feature of Chinese magnificence.

We began embarking in the morning of the 11th of December, on board the small junks, corresponding with the depth of the river; and before noon we resumed our voyage.

The grand mandarin ordered the fleet to stop on the 15th of December, to indulge the embassy with a leisure view of the Mountain of Koan-yeng-naum, one of the natural curiosities of China. It has a perpendicular ascent from the water, terminating in a peak; and from the face



towards the river, such enormous masses project, as menace every moment to fill up the channel of the stream.

But art has heightened the curious circumstances of this extraordinary mountain. It contains several caverns. One of them is about forty feet above the level of the water. To this there is access by a flight of steps, guarded by a rail. On reaching the top of the flight, we enter a room of good dimensions, excavated from the rock ; in which stands an image sacred to Chinese devotions. An artificial staircase conducts to two other superior apartments ; and the whole is fitted up by the mandarin to whom the mountain belongs, in a style of rude magnificence, corresponding to the character of the place.

Proceeding through a country, where a perpetual recurrence of towns, bridges, locks, and junks ; treats, salutes, and illuminations, give no room for new remarks ; we arrived at length at Caton, the termination of our voyage.

Our arrival being notified at Canton, several mandarins waited on his excellency ; and these were soon followed by the gentlemen of the English factory and Colonel Benson. This officer brought with him the public dispatches for the ambassador, and a packet of private letters from our friends in England. Those only who have been so long cut off from any communication with the land, which contained all that was dear to them, can form an adequate idea of the anxious joy we felt at opening a letter from the relative or friend we loved.

Next day we were moved into larger junks. The magnificence of the river at this place baffles description. Its surface was almost covered with vessels,



vessels, engaged in trade, or attracted by curiosity. The banks were lined with soldiers, and covered with elegant houses; and a succession of forts thundered out salutes with almost incessant rapidity.

We reached the English factory about one in the afternoon; and both it and the Dutch factory paid his excellency the usual salute, hoisting at the same time the standard of their respective countries.

For some days it had been a common, though affecting sight, to see the boats generally rowed by women. We sometimes observed a child tied to its mother's back, and another at her breast, while she was plying the oar. To a feeling mind this spectacle could not fail to give pain; and it may be remarked, that in Tartary, and the northern provinces of China, where the women are lamed, either by fashion or policy, from their infant years, such laborious occupations can never fall to their lot. Five inches and a half was found to be the length of a full grown woman's foot, where the practice of compression was in use: it is, however, by no means universal.

A temporary residence for the ambassador and suite had been provided by the East India Company's supercargoes; and in point of accommodation and domestic arrangement, we found it superior to the first palaces in which we had lodged, during our long peregrination in China.

Canton being the only city in China where Europeans are suffered to trade, it is comparatively well known. A brief description will therefore suffice.

This city is walled, strongly fortified, and garrisoned with numerous troops. The streets are  
generally



generally narrow, but well-paved; and the houses, which are constructed of wood and stone, seldom rise above one story high.

The viceroy's palace is exactly on the model of that in which we resided at Peking. Triumphal arches are numerous and splendid; and these are the only public buildings in the place.

The population has been estimated at a million of souls: the suburbs cannot contain less than half that number.

The river at Canton is noble and deep; the water, however, is not wholesome for strangers, till its sediment has been allowed to subside. In this respect the natives give themselves no concern. The river that flows by Tong-tchew was found to contain half a pint of yellow sand in every gallon of its water; and yet no one ever thought it necessary to purify it by filtration.

The suburbs of Canton, in which indeed, properly speaking, all the European commerce is carried on, are very extensive, and every where exhibit commercial opulence; but they have no pretensions to grandeur or elegance. The warehouses are noble repositories of the manufactures of the country: they are, however, rather great than grand. England, Holland, France, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, and America have their respective factories here, which are fitted up on the banks of the river, in the European style of architecture; and their general distinction, is the flag of their different nations displayed on some conspicuous part of the building. The English appear to engross by far the greatest share of the Chinese trade.

The Viceroy of Canton only once visited the ambassador during his stay. Large presents of  
sugar-



sugar-candy, porcelain, and nankeen, were distributed to the whole embassy.

For several days, during the time of dinner, the ambassador was entertained with Chinese plays, performed on a stage erected before the windows of his apartments.

On the first day of the new year, 1794, his excellency and suite were splendidly entertained by the gentlemen of the British factory. The band of music which had accompanied the embassy, on the request of the factory, was permitted to enter into its service; and in a country where amusements are so few and confined, it could not fail to be a valuable acquisition.

Degeneracy of manners evidently marks the characters of the inhabitants of Canton, and this reflection is the more melancholy, as there is too much reason to suppose the contagion of European example has infected the simplicity and honesty of the Chinese general character.

On the 8th of January the ambassador proceeded to Whampoa to join the ships. At the same time a deputation of the retinue was dispatched to Macao, to make preparations for his excellency's reception at that place.

Whampoa, beyond which European ships are never permitted to pass, is an elegant and populous village, about eighteen miles below Canton. The river, near this place, is defended by a sand bank, which prevents the passage of large ships, except at high water; and two necks of land, projecting on either side of it, form the celebrated straight of Bocca Tigris.

At this place Van-Tadge-In took his farewell leave of the ambassador. It is impossible for the praise or censure of the writer of this to reach a person



person of his distinguished rank ; but in bestowing praise on the deserving, we gratify the best feeling of the human heart, and at the same time do honour to ourselves. This amiable man can never be forgotten by those who experienced his assiduous care, his mild condescension, and his enlightened conduct, during a long and troublesome attendance on the embassy. He held an exalted rank in the Chinese army—perhaps the highest ; but no dignity of situation had rendered him inattentive to the minutest offices of duty. His mind seemed capable of reflecting honour on any rank ; with the most benevolent heart, he attached himself to the interests of those in whose service he was employed ; he had even contracted a friendship for some ; and the tear of affection accompanied the last adieu.

On the 14th, Lord Macartney landed at Macao ; and took up his residence with Mr. Drummond, one of the supercargoes of the East India Company. Here the gentlemen of the several European factories have their houses ; as they are not permitted to remain at Canton longer than is absolutely necessary for the purpose of trade.

Macao is a place of some magnitude, built in the European taste. It may be said to belong to the Portuguese, but the Chinese exercise a paramount jurisdiction. Indeed the Portuguese territory does not exceed four miles in length, and one and a half in breadth ; nor can the barrier be passed, without the utmost risk. A governor and judge, appointed by the court of Lisbon, reside here ; and about two hundred and fifty European soldiers are permitted to guard the place.

The long intercourse which has subsisted between Europeans and the Chinese in this place, has



has not altered the established customs and habits of the latter. The Chinese never deviate from the usages of their country, which may be considered as invariable.

Without the wall is the common burying-ground of the Chinese; and in it we saw several memorials of our countrymen, whose ashes repose here. Those who die in the Roman Catholic faith have separate cemeteries: the Chinese, more liberal, we will add, more christian, than the Catholics, suffer their dust to mingle with ours.

Here Mr. Plumb, the interpreter, though offered a handsome establishment, if he chose to return to Europe, quitted the service of the embassy. He left his English friends with sensible regret; but naturally preferred passing the remainder of his days in the bosom of his family and his country.

On the 8th of March, Lord Macartney and retinue embarked for Europe, amid the salutes of forts and ships; and being joined by a large homeward-bound fleet of Indiamen, on the 17th proceeded to sea.

Nothing of any particular consequence happened during our voyage. We arrived at St. Helena on the 19th of June, and remained there till the 1st of July.

In the afternoon of the 3d of September, we anchored safe at Spithead, after an absence of little less than two years from our native land.





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[The text is extremely faint and illegible, appearing to be a historical document or manuscript. It contains several lines of text, but the characters are too faded to be accurately transcribed. The text seems to be organized into paragraphs, with some lines starting with capital letters. The overall appearance is that of an old, worn-out page from a book or document.]



















Mavor, William Fordyce, 1758-1837

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